



B. FRANKLIN, L.L.D. F.R.S.

Born at Boston in New England, Jan 17.th 1706.

NON SORDIDUS AUCTOR NATURÆ VERIQUE.

Political, Miſcellaneous,

AND

Philoſophical Pieces;

Arranged under the following HEADS, and
Diſtinguiſhed by Initial Letters in each Leaf:

[G. P.] General Politics;
[A.B.T.] American Politics *before* the Troubles;
[A.D.T.] American Politics *during* the Troubles;
[P. P.] Provincial or Colony Politics; and
[M. P.] Miſcellaneous and Philoſophical Pieces;

Written by

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Now firſt collected,

With EXPLANATORY PLATES, NOTES,

And an INDEX to the Whole.

Hominum Rerumque Repertor. VIRGIL's *Æneid*, xii. B.

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M DCC LXXIX.

PREFACE

By the EDITOR.

THE writings of Dr. Franklin need no other preface than his character and life. — A few words therefore will explain all that is neceſſary concerning this collection.

To ſecure the reader from the apprehenſion of *omiſſions and interpolations*, the place whence each piece is taken, is generally expreſſed; or, if the notes are ſilent on this head, an original copy is to be underſtood, to which the editor ſtill retains acceſs.—It was chiefly for theſe purpoſes of authentication, that *notes* were originally provided: But as it was conſidered that this work might be read not only by Engliſhmen and Americans, but by foreigners and poſterity; *other* notes of explanation and anecdote were occaſionally added, which will be ſet aſide by

other editors, in proportion as they are judged ſuperfluous or improper.—In the *miſcellaneous* part of the collection however, theſe humbler bounds have been conſiderably exceeded; the temptation for which, will appear in the places in queſtion. The notes in particular, following the "*Conjectures* on the Aurora "Borealis," were drawn up in conſequence of attacks this paper had ſuffered among the editor's private friends. How far his zeal will juſtify their inſertion here, is left to a candid public. But the conjectures of great men ſpeak a ſtrong language. "The matter in queſtion," they ſay "contradicts nothing within *their own* "knowledge, and they riſque a portion "of their reputation upon its truth:" Proofs ſufficient to ſatisfy their candor and caution, they acknowledge to be wanting; But ſuch hints ſurely deſerve ſtudy and reſpect.—Conſiderable liberties have been taken with the *pointing*, *italics*, &c. in theſe papers; for moſt of the copies being found imperfect or unſyſtematic

ſyſtematic in theſe particulars, ſome degree of uniformity was judged allowable, if attended with proper advertiſement and apology. The editor may not perhaps at all times have ſucceeded in his own intentions; but he conceives that the *public* will take more exception at his interference, than Dr. Franklin.

The times appear not ripe enough for the editor to give expreſſion to the affection, gratitude, and veneration, he bears to a writer he has ſo intimately ſtudied: Nor is it wanting to the author; as hiſtory lies in wait for him, and the judgment of mankind balances already in his favor. The editor wiſhes only that other readers may reap that improvement from his productions, which he conceives they have rendered to himſelf.—Yet perhaps he may be excuſed for ſtating one opinion: He conceives that no man ever made larger or bolder gueſſes than Dr. Franklin from like materials in politics and philoſophy, which, after the ſcrutiny of events and of fact, have been more completely verified.

Can *Engliſhmen* read theſe things, and not ſigh at recollecting that the *country* which could produce their author, was once without controverſy *their own!*—Yet he who praiſes Dr. Franklin for mere *ability*, praiſes him for that quality of his mind, which ſtands loweſt in his own eſteem. Reader, whoever you are, and how much ſoever you think you hate him, know that this great man loves *you* enough to wiſh to do you good:

His country's friend, but *more* of human kind.

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PAPERS

ON SUBJECTS OF

GENERAL POLITICS.

N. B. *All the Papers under this diviſion are diſtinguiſhed by the letters* G. P. *placed in the running title at the head of each leaf.*

OBSERVATIONS *concerning the Increaſe of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c.*

Written in Penſylvania, 1751 *.

1. TABLES of the proportion of marriages to births, of deaths to births, of marriages to the number of inhabitants, &c. formed on obſervations made upon the bills of mortality, chriſtenings, &c. of populous cities, will not ſuit *countries*; nor will tables formed on obſervations made on full-ſettled old countries, as *Europe*, ſuit new countries, as *America*.

2. For people increaſe in proportion to the number of marriages, and that is greater in proportion to the eaſe and convenience of ſupporting a family. When families can be eaſily ſupported, more perſons marry, and earlier in life.

* [This and the following paper only, have appeared in the *Engliſh* Edition of Dr. *Franklin*'s Works. E.]

3. In cities, where all trades, occupations, and offices are full, many delay marrying, till they can ſee how to bear the charges of a family; which charges are greater in cities, as luxury is more common: many live ſingle during life, and continue ſervants to families, journeymen to traders, &c. Hence cities do not, by natural generation, ſupply themſelves with inhabitants: the deaths are more than the births.

4. In countries full ſettled, the caſe muſt be nearly the ſame; all lands being occupied and improved to the heighth, thoſe who cannot get land, muſt labour for others that have it; when labourers are plenty, their wages will be low; by low wages a family is ſupported with difficulty; this difficulty deters many from marriage, who, therefore, long continue ſervants and ſingle.—Only as the cities take ſupplies of people from the country, and thereby make a little more room in the country, marriage is a little more encouraged there, and the births exceed the deaths.

5. Great part of *Europe* is full ſettled with huſbandmen, manufacturers, &c. and therefore cannot now much encreaſe in people. *America* is chiefly occupied by *Indians*, who ſubſiſt moſtly by hunting.—But as the hunter, of all men, requires the greateſt quantity of land from whence to draw his ſubſiſtence, (the huſbandman ſubſiſting on much leſs, the gardener on ſtill leſs, and the manufacturer requiring leaſt of all) the *Europeans* found *America* as fully ſettled as it well could

could be by hunters; yet theſe having large tracts, were eaſily prevailed on to part with portions of territory to the new comers, who did not much interfere with the natives in hunting, and furniſhed them with many things they wanted.

6. Land being thus plenty in *America*, and ſo cheap as that a labouring man that underſtands huſbandry, can, in a ſhort time, ſave money enough to purchaſe a piece of new land, ſufficient for a plantation, whereon he may ſubſiſt a family; ſuch are not afraid to marry; for if they even look far enough forward to conſider how their children, when grown up, are to be provided for, they ſee that more land is to be had at rates equally eaſy, all circumſtances conſidered.

7. Hence marriages in *America* are more general, and more generally early than in *Europe*. And if it is reckoned there that *there* is but one marriage *per Annum* among 100 perſons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in *Europe* they have but four births to a marriage, (many of their marriages being late) we may here reckon eight; of which, if one half grow up, and our marriages are made, reckoning one with another, at twenty years of age, our people muſt at leaſt be doubled every twenty years.

8. But notwithſtanding this increaſe, ſo vaſt is the territory of *North America*, that it will require many ages to ſettle it fully; and till it is fully ſettled, labour will never be cheap here, where no man continues long a labourer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues

long a journeyman to a trade, but goes among thoſe new ſettlers, and ſets up for himſelf, &c. Hence labour is no cheaper now, in *Penſylvania*, than it was thirty years ago, though ſo many thouſand labouring people have been imported from Germany and Ireland.

9. The danger, therefore, of theſe colonies interfering with their mother country in trades that depend on labour, manufactures, &c. is too remote to require the attention of *Great Britain*.

10. But in proportion to the increaſe of the colonies, a vaſt demand is growing for Britiſh manufactures; a glorious market, wholly in the power of Britain, in which foreigners cannot interfere, which will increaſe, in a ſhort time, even beyond her power of ſupplying, though her whole trade ſhould be to her colonies * * *.

12. It is an ill-grounded opinion, that by the *labour of ſlaves*, America may poſſibly vie in cheapneſs of manufactures with Britain. The labour of ſlaves can never be ſo cheap here, as the labour of working men is in Britain. Any one may compute it. Intereſt of money is in the colonies from 6 to 10 *per cent*. Slaves, one with another, coſt 30*l*. ſterling *per* head. Reckon then the intereſt of the firſt purchaſe of a ſlave, the inſurance or riſque on his life, his cloathing and diet, expences in his ſickneſs, and loſs of time, loſs by his neglect of buſineſs, (neglect is natural to the man who is not to be benefited by his own care or diligence) expence of a driver to keep him at work, and his pilfering from time

to

to time, almoſt every ſlave being, from the nature of ſlavery, a thief; and compare the whole amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool in England, you will ſee that labour is much cheaper there, than it ever can be by negroes here.—Why then will *Americans* purchaſe ſlaves? Becauſe ſlaves may be kept as long as a man pleaſes, or has occaſion for their labour; while hired men are continually leaving their maſter (often in the midſt of his buſineſs) and ſetting up for themſelves. § 8.

13. As the increaſe of people depends on the encouragement of marriages, the following things muſt diminiſh a nation, *viz.* 1. *The being conquered.* For the conquerors will engroſs as many offices, and exact as much tribute or profit on the labour of the conquered, as will maintain them in their new eſtabliſhment; and this diminiſhing the ſubſiſtence of the natives, diſcourages their marriages, and ſo gradually diminiſhes them, while the foreigners increaſe. 2. *Loſs of territory.* Thus the *Britons* being driven into Wales, and crowded together in a barren country, inſufficient to ſupport ſuch great numbers, diminiſhed, till the people bore a proportion to the produce; while the Saxons increaſed on their abandoned lands, till the iſland became full of Engliſh. And, were the *Engliſh* now driven into Wales by ſome foreign nation, there would, in a few years, be no more Engliſhmen in Britain, than there are now people in Wales. 3. *Loſs of trade.* Manufactures exported, draw ſubſiſtence from foreign countries

for numbers; who are thereby enabled to marry and raiſe families. If the nation be deprived of any branch of trade, and no new employment is found for her people occupied in that branch, it will ſoon be deprived of ſo many people. 4. *Loſs of food.* Suppoſe a nation has a fiſhery, which not only employs great numbers, but makes the food and ſubſiſtence of the people cheaper: if another nation becomes maſter of the ſeas, and prevents the fiſhery, the people will diminiſh in proportion as the loſs of employ, and dearneſs of proviſion, make it more difficult to ſubſiſt a family. 5. *Bad government and inſecure property.* People not only leave ſuch a country, and, ſettling abroad, incorporate with other nations, loſe their native language, and become foreigners; but the induſtry of thoſe that remain being diſcouraged, the quantity of ſubſiſtence in the country is leſſened, and the ſupport of a family becomes more difficult. So *heavy taxes* tend to diminiſh a people. 6. *The introduction of ſlaves.* The negroes brought into the Engliſh ſugar-iſlands, have greatly diminiſhed the Whites there; the poor are by this means deprived of employment, while a few families acquire vaſt eſtates, which they ſpend on foreign luxuries; and educating their children in the habit of thoſe luxuries, the ſame income is needed for the ſupport of one, that might have maintained one hundred. The whites who have ſlaves, not labouring, are enfeebled, and therefore not ſo generally prolific; the ſlaves being worked too hard, and ill fed, their conſtitutions

are

are broken, and the deaths among them are more than the births; ſo that a continual ſupply is needed from Africa. The northern colonies having few ſlaves, increaſe in whites. Slaves alſo pejorate the families that uſe them; the white children become proud, diſguſted with labour, and being educated in idleneſs, are rendered unfit to get a living by induſtry.

14. Hence the prince that acquires new territory, if he finds it vacant, or removes the natives to give his own people room;—the legiſlator that makes effectual laws for promoting of trade, increaſing employment, improving land by more or better tillage, providing more food by fiſheries, ſecuring property, *&c.*—and the man that invents new trades, arts, or manufactures, or new improvements in huſbandry; may be properly called *the Fathers of their nation*, as they are the cauſe of the generation of multitudes, by the encouragement they afford to marriage.

15. As to privileges granted to the married, (ſuch as the *jus trium liberorum* among the *Romans*) they may haſten the filling of a country that has been thinned by war or peſtilence, or that has otherwiſe vacant territory; but cannot increaſe a people beyond the means provided for their ſubſiſtence.

16. Foreign luxuries and needleſs manufactures, imported and uſed in a nation, do, by the ſame reaſoning, increaſe the people of the nation that furniſhes them, and diminiſh the people of the nation that uſes them.——Laws, therefore, that

prevent ſuch importations, and, on the contrary, promote the exportation of manufactures to be conſumed in foreign countries, may be called (with reſpect to the people that make them) *generative laws*, as by increaſing ſubſiſtence they encourage marriage. Such laws likewiſe ſtrengthen a country doubly, by increaſing its own people, and diminiſhing its neighbours.

17. Some *European* nations prudently refuſe to conſume the manufactures of *Eaſt India*:— They ſhould likewiſe forbid them to their colonies; for the gain to the merchant is not to be compared with the loſs, by this means, of people to the nation.

18. *Home luxury* in the great, increaſes the nation's manufacturers employed by it, who are many, and only tends to diminiſh the families that indulge in it, who are few. The greater the common faſhionable expence of any rank of people, the more cautious they are of marriage. Therefore luxury ſhould never be ſuffered to become *common*.

19. The great increaſe of offspring in particular families, is not always owing to greater fecundity of nature, but ſometimes to examples of induſtry in the heads, and induſtrious education; by which the children are enabled to provide better for themſelves, and their marrying early is encouraged from the proſpect of good ſubſiſtence.

20. If there be a ſect, therefore, in our nation, that regard frugality and induſtry as religious

gious duties, and educate their children therein, more than others commonly do; ſuch ſect muſt conſequently increaſe more by natural generation, than any other ſect in Britain.

21. The importation of foreigners into a country that has as many inhabitants as the preſent employments and proviſions for ſubſiſtence will bear, will be in the end no increaſe of people; unleſs the new-comers have more induſtry and frugality than the natives, and then they will provide more ſubſiſtence, and increaſe in the country; but they will gradually eat the natives out.—Nor is it neceſſary to bring in foreigners to fill up any occaſional vacancy in a country; for ſuch vacancy (if the laws are good, § 14, 16) will ſoon be filled by natural generation. Who can now find the vacancy made in *Sweden*, *France*, or other warlike nations, by the plague of heroiſm 40 years ago; in *France*, by the expulſion of the Proteſtants; in *England*, by the ſettlement of her colonies; or in *Guinea*, by a hundred years exportation of ſlaves, that has blackened half America?—The thinneſs of the inhabitants in *Spain*, is owing to national pride, and idleneſs, and other cauſes, rather than to the expulſion of the *Moors*, or to the making of new ſettlements.

22. There is, in ſhort, no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of ſubſiſtence. Was the face of the earth vacant of other plants, it might be gradually

dually ſowed and overſpread with one kind only; as for inſtance, with fennel; and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might, in a few ages, be repleniſhed from one nation only, as for inſtance, with *Engliſhmen*. Thus there are ſuppoſed to be now upwards of one million of *Engliſh* ſouls in *North America* (though it is thought ſcarce 80,000 have been brought over-ſea *) and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in Britain, but rather many more, on account of the employment the colonies afford to manufacturers at home. This million doubling, ſuppoſe but once in 25 years, will, in another century, be more than the people of England, and the greateſt number of *Engliſhmen* will be on this ſide the water. What an acceſſion of power to the *Britiſh* empire by ſea as well as land! What increaſe of trade and navigation! What numbers of ſhips and ſeamen! We have been here but little more than a hundred years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war, united, was greater both in men and guns, than that of the whole Britiſh navy in queen Elizabeth's time. How important an affair then to *Britain*, is the preſent treaty † for ſettling the bounds between her colonies and the *French!* and how careful ſhould ſhe be to ſecure room enough, ſince on the room depends ſo much the increaſe of her people?

23. In fine, a nation well regulated is like a polypus ‡; take away a limb, its place is ſoon

* [*N. B.* This was written in the year 1751. E.]

† In 1751. ‡ An water-inſect, well known to Naturaliſts.

ſup-

ſupplied; cut it in two, and each deficient part ſhall ſpeedily grow out of the part remaining. Thus, (if you have room and ſubſiſtence enough) as you may, by dividing, make ten polypuſes out of one; you may, of one, make ten nations, equally populous and powerful; or rather, increaſe a nation tenfold in numbers and ſtrength. * * * * *.

Extracts

Extracts of a Letter from R. J. *Eſq; of* London, *to* Benjamin Franklin, *Eſq; at* Philadelphia; *containing Remarks on ſome of the foregoing Obſervations.*

DEAR SIR,

IT is now near three years ſince I received your excellent Obſervations on the *Increaſe of Mankind, &c.* in which you have with ſo much ſagacity and accuracy ſhewn in what manner, and by what cauſes, that principal means of political grandeur is beſt promoted; and have ſo well ſupported thoſe juſt inferences you have occaſionally drawn, concerning the general ſtate of our *American* colonies, and the views and conduct of ſome of the inhabitants of *Great Britain.*

You have abundantly proved that natural fecundity is hardly to be conſidered; becauſe the *vis generandi,* as far as we know, is unlimited, and becauſe experience ſhews that the numbers of nations are altogether governed by collateral cauſes; and among theſe none is of ſo much force as quantity of ſubſiſtence; whether ariſing from climate, ſoil, improvement of tillage, trade, fiſheries, ſecure property, conqueſt of new countries, or other favourable circumſtances.

As I perfectly concurred with you in your ſentiments on theſe heads, I have been very deſirous of building ſomewhat on the foundation you have there laid; and was induced by your hints

hints in the twenty-firſt ſection, to trouble you with ſome thoughts on the influence *Manners* have always had, and are always likely to have on the numbers of a people, and their political proſperity in general *.

The powerful efficacy of *Manners* in encreaſing a people, is manifeſt from the inſtance you mention, the *Quakers*; among them induſtry and frugality multiplies and extends the uſe of the neceſſaries of life. To manners of a like kind are owing the populouſneſs of *Holland*, *Switzerland*, *China*, *Japan*, and moſt parts of *Indoſtan*, *&c.* in every one of which the force of extent of territory and fertility of ſoil is multiplied, or their want compenſated by induſtry and frugality.

Neither nature nor art have contributed much to the production of ſubſiſtence in *Switzerland*, yet we ſee frugality preſerves, and even increaſes families that live on their fortunes, and which, in England, we call the *Gentry*; and the obſervation we cannot but make in the *Southern part of this kingdom*, that thoſe families, including all ſuperior ones, are gradually becoming extinct, affords the cleareſt proof that luxury (that is, a greater expence of ſubſiſtence than in prudence a man ought to conſume) is as deſtructive as a proportionable want of it; but in *Scotland*, as in Switzerland, the Gentry, though one with another

* [The following paſſage ſtands inſerted at this place in the original: "The end of every individual is its own private good. "The rules it obſerves in the purſuit of this good, are a ſyſtem of "propoſitions,

ther they have not one-fourth of the income, increaſe in number.

" propoſitions, almoſt every one founded in authority, that is, " derive their weight from the credit given to one or more perſons, " and not from demonſtration.

" And this, in the moſt important as well as the other affairs of " life, is the caſe even of the wiſeſt and philoſophical part of the " human ſpecies; and that it ſhould be ſo is the leſs ſtrange, when " we conſider that it is, perhaps, impoſſible to prove, that *being*, " or life itſelf, has any other value than what is ſet on it by autho- " rity.

" A confirmation of this may be derived from the obſervation, " that in every country in the univerſe, happineſs is ſought upon " a different plan; and, even in the ſame country, we ſee it placed " by different ages, profeſſions, and ranks of men, in the attain- " ment of enjoyments utterly unlike.

" Theſe propoſitions, as well as others, framed upon them, " become habitual by degrees, and, as they govern the determina- " tion of the will, I call them *moral habits*.

" There are another ſet of habits that have the direction of the " members of the body, that I call therefore *mechanical habits*. " Theſe compoſe what we commonly call *The Arts*, which are " more or leſs liberal or mechanical, as they more or leſs partake " of aſſiſtance from the operations of the mind.

" The *cumulus* of the moral habits of each individual, is the man- " ners of that individual; the *cumulus* of the manners of individuals " makes up the manners of a nation.

" The happineſs of individuals is evidently the ultimate end of " political ſociety; and political welfare, or the ſtrength, ſplen- " dour, and opulence of the ſtate, have been always admitted, both " by political writers, and the valuable part of mankind in general, " to conduce to this end, and are therefore deſirable.

" The cauſes that advance or obſtruct any one of theſe three " objects, are external or internal. The latter may be divided into " phyſical, civil, and perſonal, under which laſt head I compre- " hend the moral and mechanical habits of mankind. The phy- " ſical cauſes are principally climate, ſoil, and number of ſubjects; " the civil are government and laws; and political welfare is al- " ways in a ratio compoſed of the force of theſe particular cauſes; " a multitude of external cauſes, and all theſe internal ones, not " only controul and qualify, but are conſtantly acting on, and " thereby inſenſibly, as well as ſenſibly, altering one another, both " for the better and the worſe, and this not excepting the climate " itſelf."

And

And here I cannot help remarking, by the bye, how well founded your diſtinction is between the increaſe of mankind in old and new-ſettled countries in general, and more particularly, in the caſe of families of condition. In *America*, where their Expences are more confined to neceſſaries, and thoſe neceſſaries are cheap, it is common to ſee above one hundred perſons deſcended from one living old man. In *England* it frequently happens, where a man has ſeven, eight, or more children, there has not been a deſcendant in the next generation; occaſioned by the difficulties the number of children has brought on the family, in a luxurious dear country, and which have prevented their marrying.—That this is more owing to luxury than mere want, appears from what I have ſaid of *Scotland*, and more plainly from parts of *England* remote from *London*; in moſt of which the neceſſaries of life are nearly as dear, in ſome dearer than in London; yet the people of all ranks marry and breed up children.

Again; among the lower ranks of life, none produce ſo few children as *ſervants*. This is, in ſome meaſure, to be attributed to their ſituation, which hinders marriage; but is alſo to be attributed to their luxury, and corruption of manners, which are greater than among any other ſet of people in England, and is the conſequence of a nearer view of the lives and perſons of a ſuperior rank, than any inferior rank, without a proper education, ought to have.

The

The quantity of ſubſiſtence in *England* has unqueſtionably become greater for many ages; and yet if the inhabitants are more numerous, they certainly are not ſo in proportion to our improvement of the means of ſupport. I am apt to think there are few parts of this kingdom that have not been at ſome former time more populous than at preſent. I have ſeveral cogent reaſons for thinking ſo of great part of the counties I am moſt intimately acquainted with; but as they were probably not all moſt populous at the ſame time, and as ſome of our towns are viſibly and vaſtly grown in bulk, I dare not ſuppoſe, as judicious men have done, that *England* is leſs peopled than heretofore.—This growth of our *towns* is the effect of a change of manners, and improvement of arts, common to all Europe; and though it is not imagined that it has leſſened the country growth of neceſſaries; it has evidently, by introducing a greater conſumption of them, (an infallible conſequence of a nation's dwelling in towns) counteracted the effects of our prodigious advances in the arts.—But however frugality may ſupply the place, or prodigality counteract the effects, of the natural or acquired ſubſiſtence of a country; *induſtry* is, beyond doubt, a more efficacious cauſe of plenty, than any natural advantage of extent or fertility. I have mentioned inſtances of frugality and induſtry, united with extent and fertility; in *Spain* and *Aſia Minor*, we ſee frugality joined to extent and fertility, without induſtry; in *Ireland* we once ſaw the

ſame;

ſame; *Scotland* had then none of them but frugality. The change in theſe two countries is obvious to every one, and it is owing to induſtry, not yet very widely diffuſed in either.—The effects of induſtry and frugality in *England* are ſurpriſing; both the rent and the value of the inheritance of land depend on them greatly more than on nature; and this, though there is no conſiderable difference in the prices of our markets. Land of equal goodneſs lets for double the rent of other land lying in the ſame county; and there are many years purchaſe difference between different counties, where rents are equally well paid and ſecure.—Thus *Manners* operate upon the *number* of inhabitants: but of their ſilent effects upon a *civil conſtitution*, hiſtory and even our own experience, yields us abundance of proofs, though they are not uncommonly attributed to external cauſes: Their ſupport of a government againſt external force is ſo great, that it is a common maxim among the advocates of liberty, that no free government was ever diſſolved, or overcome, before the manners of its ſubjects were corrupted.

The ſuperiority of *Greece* over *Perſia* was ſingly owing to their difference of manners; and *that*, though all natural advantages were on the ſide of the latter—to which I might add the civil ones; for though the greateſt of all civil advantages, Liberty, was on the ſide of Greece, yet that added no political ſtrength to her [otherwiſe] than as it operated on her manners; and, when *they* were

corrupted, the reſtoration of their liberty by the Romans, overturned the remains of their power.

Whether the manners of *Ancient Rome* were, at any period, calculated to promote the happineſs of individuals, it is not my deſign to examine: But that their manners, and the effects of thoſe manners on their government and public conduct, founded, enlarged, and ſupported, and afterwards overthrew their empire, is beyond all doubt. One of the effects of their conqueſt furniſhes us with a ſtrong proof how prevalent manners are even beyond quantity of ſubſiſtence; for, when the cuſtom of beſtowing on the citizens of Rome corn enough to ſupport themſelves and families, was become eſtabliſhed, and Egypt and Sicily produced the grain that fed the inhabitants of Italy; this became leſs populous every day; and the *Jus trium liberorum* was but an expedient that could not balance the want of induſtry and frugality.—But corruption of manners did not only *thin* the inhabitants of the *Roman Empire*; it rendered the remainder *incapable of defence*, long before its fall, perhaps before the diſſolution of the republic; ſo that without ſtanding diſciplined armies compoſed of men, whoſe moral habits principally, and mechanical habits ſecondarily, made them different from the body of the people, the Roman empire had been a prey to the barbarians many ages before it was.—By the *mechanical* habits of the ſoldiery, I mean their diſcipline, and the art of war: And that this is but a ſecondary quality, appears from the inequality that has in all

ages

ages been between raw, though well-diſciplined armies, and veterans, and more from the irreſiſtible force a ſingle *moral* habit, Religion, has conferred on troops frequently neither diſciplined nor experienced.

The military manners of the *Nobleſſe* in *France*, compoſe the chief force of that kingdom; and the enterpriſing manners, and reſtleſs diſpoſitions of the inhabitants of *Canada* have enabled a handful of men to haraſs our populous, and, generally, leſs martial colonies: Yet neither are of the value they ſeem at firſt ſight, becauſe, overbalanced by the defect they occaſion of other habits that would produce more eligible political good: And military manners in a people are not neceſſary in an age and country where ſuch manners may be occaſionally formed and preſerved among men *enough* to defend the ſtate; and ſuch a country is *Great Britain*, where, though the lower claſs of people are by no means of a military caſt, yet they make better ſoldiers than even the Nobleſſe of France.

The inhabitants of this country [*England*,] a few ages back, were to the populous and rich provinces of France, what Canada is now to the Britiſh colonies. It is true, there was leſs diſproportion between their natural ſtrength; but I mean that the riches of France were a real weakneſs, oppoſed to the military manners founded upon poverty and a rugged diſpoſition, then the character of the *Engliſh*.—But it muſt be remembered, that at this time the manners of a people were

not diſtinct from that of their ſoldiery: For the uſe of ſtanding armies has deprived a military people of the advantages they before had over others; and though it has been often ſaid, that civil wars give power, becauſe they render all men ſoldiers, I believe this has only been found true in internal wars following civil wars, and not in external ones; for now, in foreign wars, a ſmall army with ample means to ſupport it, is of greater force than one more numerous, with leſs. This laſt fact has often happened between France and Germany.

The means of ſupporting armies, and, conſequently, the power of exerting external ſtrength, are beſt found in the induſtry and frugality of the body of a people living under a government and laws that encourage *Commerce*; for commerce is at this day almoſt the only *ſtimulus* that forces every one to contribute a ſhare of labour for the public benefit.

But ſuch is the human frame, and the world is ſo conſtituted, that it is a hard matter to poſſeſs ones-ſelf of a benefit, without laying ones-ſelf open to a loſs on ſome other ſide; the improvements of manners of one ſort, often deprave thoſe of another: Thus we ſee induſtry and frugality under the influence of commerce, (which I call a commercial ſpirit) tend to deſtroy, as well as ſupport, the government it flouriſhes under.—Commerce perfects the arts, but more the mechanical than the liberal, and this for an obvious reaſon; it ſoftens and enervates the manners.

ners. Steady virtue, and unbending integrity, are ſeldom to be found where a ſpirit of commerce pervades every thing; yet the perfection of commerce is, that every thing ſhould have its price. We every day ſee its progreſs, both to our benefit and detriment here. Things that *boni mores* forbid to be ſet to ſale, are become its objects, and there are few things indeed *extra commercium*. The legiſlative power itſelf has been *in commercio*; and church livings are ſeldom given without conſideration, even by ſincere Chriſtians; and for conſideration, not ſeldom to very unworthy perſons. The rudeneſs of ancient military times, and the fury of more modern enthuſiaſtic ones, are worn off; even the ſpirit of forenſic contention is aſtoniſhingly diminiſhed (all marks of manners ſoftening;) but luxury and corruption have taken their places, and ſeem the inſeparable companions of Commerce and the Arts.

I cannot help obſerving, however, that this is much more the caſe in extenſive countries, eſpecially at their metropolis, than in other places. It is an old obſervation of politicians, and frequently made by hiſtorians, that ſmall ſtates always beſt preſerve their manners.—Whether this happens from the greater room there is for attention in the legiſlature, or from the leſs room there is for ambition and avarice; it is a ſtrong argument, among others, againſt an incorporating *Union of the colonies in America*, or even a federal one, that may tend to the future re-

ducing them under one government. Their power, while diſunited, is leſs, but their liberty, as well as manners, is more ſecure; and, conſidering the little danger of any conqueſt to be made upon them, I had rather they ſhould ſuffer ſomething through diſunion, than ſee them under a general adminiſtration leſs equitable than that concerted at *Albany**.—I take it, the inhabitants of *Penſylvania* are both frugal and induſtrious beyond thoſe of any province in *America*. If luxury ſhould ſpread, it cannot be extirpated by laws. We are told by Plutarch, that *Plato* uſed to ſay, *It was a hard thing to make laws for the* Cyrenians, *a people abounding in plenty and opulence.*——

But from what I ſet out with, it is evident, if I be not miſtaken, that *education only* can ſtem the torrent, and, without checking either true induſtry or frugality, prevent the ſordid frugality and lazineſs of the old *Iriſh*, and many of the modern *Scotch*, (I mean the inhabitants of that country, thoſe who leave it for another being generally induſtrious) or the induſtry mixed with luxury of this capital, from getting ground; and, by rendering ancient manners familiar, produce a reconciliation between diſintereſtedneſs and commerce; a thing we often ſee, but almoſt always in men of a liberal education.

To conclude; *when we would form a people*, ſoil and climate may be found at leaſt ſufficiently

* [The reader will ſee an account of this plan in the ſubſequent ſheets. E.]

good;

good; inhabitants may be encouraged to ſettle, and even ſupported for a while; a good government and laws may be framed, and even arts may be eſtabliſhed, or their produce imported; but many neceſſary moral habits are hardly ever found among thoſe who voluntarily offer themſelves in times of quiet at home, to people new colonies; beſides that the moral, as well as mechanical habits, adapted to a mother-country, are frequently not ſo to the new-ſettled one, and to external events, many of which are always unforeſeen. Hence it is we have ſeen ſuch fruitleſs attempts to ſettle colonies, at an immenſe public and private expence, by ſeveral of the powers of *Europe:* And it is particularly obſervable that none of the *Engliſh* colonies became any way conſiderable, till the neceſſary manners were born and grew up in the country, excepting thoſe to which ſingular circumſtances at home forced manners fit for the forming a new ſtate.

I am, Sir, &c.

R. J.

THE WAY TO WEALTH,

As clearly ſhewn in the Preface of an old Pennſylvania *Almanack, intitled,* POOR RICHARD IMPROVED. *

Courteous Reader,

I HAVE heard, that nothing gives an author ſo great pleaſure, as to find his works reſpectfully quoted by others. Judge, then, how much I muſt have been gratified by an incident I am going to relate to you. I ſtopped my horſe lately, where a great number of people were collected, at an auction of merchants goods. The hour of the ſale not being come, they were converſing on the badneſs of the times; and one of the company called to a plain, clean Old Man, with white locks, 'Pray, *Father Abraham*, what think 'you of the times? Will not theſe heavy taxes 'quite ruin the country? How ſhall we ever be

[* Dr. Franklin, as I have been made to underſtand, for many years publiſhed the *Penſylvania* Almanack, called *Poor Richard* [*Saunders*], and furniſhed it with various ſentences and proverbs, which had principal relation to the topics of "induſtry, attention "to one's own buſineſs, and frugality." The whole or chief of theſe ſentences and proverbs, he at laſt collected and digeſted in the above general preface, which his countrymen read with much avidity and profit.

M. *Dubourg*, the French tranſlator of Dr. Franklin's works, entitles this *Penſylvanian* Almanack, *Le pauvre Henri a ſon aiſe*; to avoid the *jeu de mots*, in caſe he had written *Pauvre Richard*. E.]

'able

'able to pay them? What would you adviſe us 'to?'——Father *Abraham* ſtood up, and replied, 'If you would have my advice, I will give it 'you in ſhort; "for a word to the wiſe is "enough," as Poor *Richard* ſays.' They joined in deſiring him to ſpeak his mind, and gathering round him, he proceeded as follows:

'FRIENDS, ſays he, the taxes are, indeed, 'very heavy, and, if thoſe laid on by the go-'vernment were the only ones we had to pay, 'we might more eaſily diſcharge them; but we 'have many others, and much more grievous to 'ſome of us. We are taxed twice as much by 'our idleneſs, three times as much by our pride, 'and four times as much by our folly; and 'from theſe taxes the commiſſioners cannot eaſe 'or deliver us, by allowing an abatement. 'However, let us hearken to good advice, and 'ſomething may be done for us; "God helps "them that help themſelves," as Poor *Richard* 'ſays.

'I. It would be thought a hard government that 'ſhould tax its people one tenth part of their 'time, to be employed in its ſervice: But idle-'neſs taxes many of us much more; ſloth, by 'bringing on diſeaſes, abſolutely ſhortens life. "Sloth, like ruſt, conſumes faſter than labour "wears, while the uſed key is always bright," 'as Poor *Richard* ſays. "But doſt thou love "life, then do not ſquander time, for that is the

"ſtuff

" ſtuff life is made of," as Poor *Richard* ſays. ' How much more than is neceſſary do we ſpend ' in ſleep! forgetting that, " The ſleeping fox " catches no poultry, and that there will be " ſleeping enough in the grave," as Poor *Richard* ' ſays.

" If time be of all things the moſt precious, " waſting time muſt be," as Poor *Richard* ' ſays, " the greateſt prodigality;" ſince as he ' elſewhere tells us, " Loſt time is never found " again; and what we call time enough, always " proves little enough:" Let us then up and ' be doing, and doing to the purpoſe; ſo by di- ' ligence ſhall we do more with leſs perplexity. " Sloth makes all things difficult but induſtry " all eaſy; and, He that riſeth late, muſt trot " all day, and ſhall ſcarce overtake his bu- " ſineſs at night; while lazineſs travels ſo ſlowly, " that poverty ſoon overtakes him. Drive thy " buſineſs, let not that drive thee; and early to " bed, and early to riſe, makes a man healthy, " wealthy, and wiſe," as Poor *Richard* ſays.

' So what ſignifies wiſhing and hoping for ' better times? We may make theſe times bet- ' ter, if we beſtir ourſelves. " Induſtry need " not wiſh, and he that lives upon hope will " die faſting. There are no gains without pains; " then help hands, for I have no lands," or, if ' I have, they are ſmartly taxed. " He that " hath a trade, hath an eſtate; and he that hath " a calling, hath an office of profit and honour," ' as Poor *Richard* ſays; but then the trade muſt

' be

'be worked at, and the calling well followed, or 'neither the eſtate nor the office will enable us 'to pay our taxes. — If we are induſtrious, we 'ſhall never ſtarve; for, "at the working man's "houſe hunger looks in, but dares not enter." 'Nor will the bailiff or the conſtable enter, for "Induſtry pays debts, while deſpair increaſeth "them." What though you have found no trea-'ſure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy, "Diligence is the mother of good luck, and God "gives all things to induſtry. Then plow deep, "while ſluggards ſleep, and you ſhall have corn "to ſell and to keep." Work while it is called 'to day, for you know not how much you may 'be hindered to-morrow. "One to-day is worth "two to-morrows," as Poor *Richard* ſays; and 'farther, "Never leave that till to-morrow, "which you can do to-day." If you were a ſer-'vant, would you not be aſhamed that a good 'maſter ſhould catch you idle? Are you then 'your own maſter? be aſhamed to catch yourſelf 'idle, when there is ſo much to be done for 'yourſelf, your family, your country, and your 'king. Handle your tools without mittens, re-'member, that, "The cat in gloves catches no "mice," as Poor *Richard* ſays. It is true, there is 'much to be done, and, perhaps, you are weak-'handed; but ſtick to it ſteadily, and you will ſee 'great effects; for "Conſtant dropping wears "away ſtones; and by diligence and patience the "mouſe ate in two the cable; and little ſtrokes "fell great oaks."

'Methinks

'Methinks I hear ſome of you ſay, "Muſt a "man afford himſelf no leiſure?" — I will tell 'thee, my friend, what Poor *Richard* ſays; "Em- "ploy thy time well, if thou meaneſt to gain lei- "ſure; and ſince thou art not ſure of a minute, "throw not away an hour." Leiſure is time for 'doing ſomething uſeful; this leiſure the diligent 'man will obtain, but the lazy man never; for, "A life of leiſure and a life of lazineſs are two "things. Many, without labour, would live by "their wits only, but they break for want of "ſtock;" whereas induſtry gives comfort, and 'plenty, and reſpect. "Fly pleaſures, and they "will follow you. The diligent ſpinner has a "large ſhift; and now I have a ſheep and a cow, "every body bids me good-morrow."

'II. But with our induſtry we muſt likewiſe 'be ſteady, ſettled, and careful, and overſee our 'own affairs with our own eyes, and not truſt too 'much to others; for, as Poor *Richard* ſays,

"I never ſaw an oft-removed tree,
"Nor yet an oft-removed family,
"That throve ſo well as thoſe that ſettled be."

'And again, "Three removes is as bad as a fire;" 'and again, "Keep thy ſhop, and thy ſhop will "keep thee;" and again, "If you would have your "buſineſs done, go; if not, ſend." And again,

"He that by the plough would thrive,
"Himſelf muſt either hold or drive."

'And again, "The eye of a maſter will do more "work than both his hands;" and again, "Want

"of

" of care does us more damage than want of know-
" ledge;" and again, " Not to overſee workmen,
" is to leave them your purſe open." Truſting
' too much to others care is the ruin of many;
' for, " In the affairs of this world, men are
" ſaved, not by faith, but by the want of it;"
' But a man's own care is profitable; for, " If
" you would have a faithful ſervant, and one that
" you like, ſerve yourſelf. A little neglect may
" breed great miſchief; for want of a nail the
" ſhoe was loſt; for want of a ſhoe the horſe was
" loſt; and for want of a horſe the rider was loſt,"
' being overtaken and ſlain by the enemy; all for
' want of a little care about a horſe-ſhoe nail.

' III. So much for induſtry, my friends, and
' attention to ones own buſineſs; but to theſe we
' muſt add frugality, if we would make our in-
' duſtry more certainly ſucceſsful. A man may,
' if he knows not how to ſave as he gets, " keep
" his noſe all his life to the grind-ſtone, and die
" not worth a groat at laſt. A fat kitchen makes
" a lean will;" and

" Many eſtates are ſpent in the getting,
" Since women for tea forſook ſpinning and
" knitting,
" And men for punch forſook hewing and
" ſplitting."

" If you would be wealthy, think of ſaving, as
" well as of getting. The Indies have not made
" Spain rich, becauſe her outgoes are greater
" than her incomes."

' Away

'Away then, with your expenſive follies, and 'you will not then have ſo much cauſe to complain 'of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargeable fa-'milies; for

"Women and wine, game and deceit,
"Make the wealth ſmall, and the want great."

'And farther, "What maintains one vice, would "bring up two children." You may think, per-'haps, that a little tea, or a little punch now and 'then, diet a little more coſtly, clothes a little 'finer, and a little entertainment now and then, 'can be no great matter; but remember, "Many "a little makes a mickle." Beware of little ex-'pences; "A ſmall leak will ſink a great ſhip," 'as Poor *Richard* ſays; and again, "Who dain-"ties love, ſhall beggars prove;" and moreover, "Fools make feaſts, and wiſe men eat them."

'Here you are all got together to this ſale of 'fineries and nick-nacks. You call them *goods*; 'but, if you do not take care, they will prove '*evils* to ſome of you. You expect they will be 'ſold cheap, and, perhaps, they may for leſs than 'they coſt; but, if you have no occaſion for 'them, they muſt be dear to you. Remember 'what Poor *Richard* ſays, "Buy what thou haſt "no need of, and ere long thou ſhalt ſell thy ne-"ceſſaries." And again, "At a great penny-"worth pauſe a while." He means, that per-'haps the cheapneſs is apparent only, and not 'real; or the bargain, by ſtraitening thee in thy 'buſineſs, may do thee more harm than good. 'For in another place he ſays, "Many have been

"ruined

" ruined by buying good pennyworths." Again, " It is fooliſh to lay out money in a purchaſe of " repentance;" and yet this folly is practiſed ' every day at auctions, for want of minding the ' Almanack. Many a one, for the ſake of finery ' on the back, have gone with a hungry belly, and ' half ſtarved their families; " Silks and ſattins, " ſcarlet and velvets, put out the kitchen-fire," ' as Poor *Richard* ſays. Theſe are not the neceſ- ' ſaries of life; they can ſcarcely be called the ' conveniences; and yet only becauſe they look ' pretty, how many want to have them? By ' theſe, and other extravagancies, the genteel are ' reduced to poverty, and forced to borrow of ' thoſe whom they formerly deſpiſed, but who, ' through induſtry and frugality, have maintained ' their ſtanding; in which caſe it appears plainly, ' that " A ploughman on his legs is higher than " a gentleman on his knees," as Poor *Richard* ' ſays. Perhaps they have had a ſmall eſtate left ' them, which they knew not the getting of; ' they think " It is day, and will never be night;" ' that a little to be ſpent out of ſo much is not ' worth minding; but " Always taking out of " the meal-tub, and never putting in, ſoon comes " to the bottom," as Poor *Richard* ſays; and ' then, " When the well is dry, they know the " worth of water." But this they might have ' known before, if they had taken his advice: —" If you would know the value of money, go " and try to borrow ſome; for he that goes a " borrowing goes a ſorrowing," as Poor *Richard* ' ſays;

'ſays; and, indeed, ſo does he that lends to 'ſuch people, when he goes to get it in again.— 'Poor *Dick* farther adviſes, and ſays,

"Fond pride of dreſs is ſure a very curſe;
"Ere fancy you conſult, conſult your purſe."

'And again, "Pride is as loud a beggar as Want, "and a great deal more ſaucy." When you have 'bought one fine thing, you muſt buy ten more, 'that your appearance may be all of a piece; but 'Poor *Dick* ſays, "It is eaſier to ſuppreſs the firſt "deſire, than to ſatisfy all that follow it:" And 'it is as truly folly for the poor to ape the rich, as 'for the frog to ſwell, in order to equal the ox.

"Veſſels large may venture more,
"But little boats ſhould keep near ſhore."

'It is, however, a folly ſoon puniſhed; for, as 'Poor *Richard* ſays, "Pride that dines on va-"nity, ſups on contempt; Pride breakfaſted with "Plenty, dined with Poverty, and ſupped with "Infamy." And, after all, of what uſe is this 'pride of appearance, for which ſo much is 'riſked, ſo much is ſuffered? It cannot promote 'health, nor eaſe pain; it makes no increaſe of 'merit in the perſon, it creates envy, it haſtens 'misfortune.

'But what madneſs muſt it be to *run in debt* for 'theſe ſuperfluities? We are offered, by the terms 'of this ſale, ſix months credit; and that, perhaps, 'has induced ſome of us to attend it, becauſe we 'cannot ſpare the ready money, and hope now to 'be fine without it. But, ah! think what you do

'when

'when you run in debt; you give to another 'power over your liberty. If you cannot pay 'at the time, you will be aſhamed to ſee your 'creditor; you will be in fear when you ſpeak to 'him; you will make poor pitiful ſneaking ex-'cuſes, and, by degrees, come to loſe your vera-'city, and ſink into baſe, downright lying; for, "The ſecond vice is lying, the *firſt* is running "in debt," as Poor *Richard* ſays; and again, to 'the ſame purpoſe, "Lying rides upon Debt's "back:" whereas a free-born *Engliſhman* ought 'not to be aſhamed nor afraid to ſee or ſpeak 'to any man living. But poverty often deprives 'a man of all ſpirit and virtue. "It is hard "for an empty bag to ſtand upright." What 'would you think of that prince, or of that go-'vernment, who ſhould iſſue an edict forbidding 'you to dreſs like a gentleman or gentlewoman, 'on pain of impriſonment or ſervitude? Would 'you not ſay that you were free, have a right 'to dreſs as you pleaſe, and that ſuch an edict 'would be a breach of your privileges, and ſuch 'a government tyrannical? And yet you are 'about to put yourſelf under that tyranny, when 'you run in debt for ſuch dreſs! Your creditor 'has authority, at his pleaſure, to deprive you 'of your liberty, by confining you in gaol for 'life, or by ſelling you for a ſervant, if you 'ſhould not be able to pay him. When you 'have got your bargain, you may, perhaps, 'think little of payment; but, as Poor *Richard* 'ſays, "Creditors have better memories than

" debtors; creditors are a ſuperſtitious ſect, great " obſervers of ſet-days and times." The day ' comes round before you are aware, and the ' demand is made before you are prepared to ' ſatisfy it; or, if you bear your debt in mind, ' the term, which at firſt ſeemed ſo long, will, ' as it leſſens, appear extremely ſhort: Time ' will ſeem to have added wings to his heels as ' well as his ſhoulders. " Thoſe have a ſhort " Lent, who owe money to be paid at Eaſter." ' At preſent, perhaps, you may think yourſelves ' in thriving circumſtances, and that you can bear ' a little extravagance without injury; but

" For age and want ſave while you may,
" No morning-ſun laſts a whole day."

' Gain may be temporary and uncertain, but ever, ' while you live, expence is conſtant and certain; ' and, " It is eaſier to build two chimneys, than " to keep one in fuel," as Poor *Richard* ſays: So, " Rather go to bed ſupperleſs, than riſe in debt."

" Get what you can, and what you get hold:
" 'Tis the ſtone that will turn all your lead
" into gold."

' And when you have got the philoſopher's ſtone, ' ſure you will no longer complain of bad times, ' or the difficulty of paying taxes.

' IV. This doctrine, my friends, is reaſon and ' wiſdom: But, after all, do not depend too ' much upon your own induſtry, and frugality, ' and prudence, though excellent things; for they ' may all be blaſted, without the bleſſing of Hea-

' ven;

'ven; and, therefore, aſk that bleſſing humbly,
'and be not uncharitable to thoſe that at preſent
'ſeem to want it, but comfort and help them.
'Remember, Job ſuffered, and was afterwards
'proſperous.

'And now, to conclude, "Experience keeps a
"dear ſchool, but fools will learn in no other,"
'(as Poor *Richard* ſays) and ſcarce in that; for,
'it is true, "We may give advice, but we can-
"not give conduct:" However, remember this,
"They that will not be counſelled, cannot be
"helped;" and farther, that "If you will not
"hear Reaſon, ſhe will ſurely rap your knuckles,"
'as Poor *Richard* ſays.'

Thus the Old Gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it and approved the doctrine; and immediately practiſed the contrary, juſt as if it had been a common ſermon; for the auction opened, and they began to buy extravagantly. —I found the good man had thoroughly ſtudied my Almanacks, and digeſted all I had dropt on thoſe topics during the courſe of twenty-five years. The frequent mention he made of me muſt have tired any one elſe; but my vanity was wonderfully delighted with it, though I was conſcious, that not a tenth part of the wiſdom was my own, which he aſcribed to me, but rather the gleanings that I had made of the ſenſe of all ages and nations. However, I reſolved to be the better for the echo of it; and, though I had at firſt determined to buy ſtuff for a new

coat, I went away, reſolved to wear my old one a little longer. Reader, if thou wilt do the ſame, thy profit will be as great as mine.

I am, as ever,

Thine to ſerve thee,

RICHARD SAUNDERS‡.

‡ [This piece has been printed on a ſingle ſheet of paper, of a ſmall ſize fit for framing, and may be had of the publiſher of this work, price two-pence. E.]

Plan

Plan by Meſſieurs Franklin *and* Dalrymple *for benefiting diſtant unprovided Countries* ‡.

Aug. 29, 1771.

THE country called in the maps *New Zealand*, has been diſcovered by the *Endeavour*, to be two iſlands, together as large as *Great Britain*: theſe iſlands, named *Acpy-nomawée* and *Tovy-poennammoo*, are inhabited by a brave and generous race, who are deſtitute of *corn*, *fowls*, and *all quadrupeds*, except *dogs*.

Theſe circumſtances being mentioned lately in a company of men of liberal ſentiments, it was obſerved that it ſeemed *incumbent* on ſuch a country as *this*, to communicate to *all others* the conveniences of life which we enjoy.

Dr. Franklin, whoſe life has ever been directed to promote the true intereſt of ſociety, ſaid, "he "would with all his heart *ſubſcribe* to a voyage "intended to communicate *in general* thoſe bene- "fits which we enjoy, to countries deſtitute of "them in the remote parts of the globe." This

‡ [Theſe propoſals were printed upon a ſheet of paper ſome two or three years ago, and diſtributed. The parts written by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dalrymple are eaſily diſtinguiſhed.

By a miſtake of the printer "The way to wealth" is put out of its place, being made to interrupt the courſe of the papers relating to the ſubſiſtence of mankind, &c. E.]

propoſition being warmly adopted by the reſt of the company, Mr. Dalrymple, then preſent, was induced to offer to undertake the command on ſuch an expedition.

On mature reflection this ſcheme appears the more honourable to the national character of any which can be conceived, as it is grounded on the nobleſt principle of benevolence. Good intentions are often fruſtrated by letting them remain indigeſted; on this conſideration Mr. Dalrymple was induced to put the outlines on paper, which are now publiſhed, that by an early communication there may be a better opportunity of collecting all the hints which can conduce to execute effectually the benevolent purpoſe of the expedition, in caſe it ſhould meet with general approbation.

On this ſcheme being ſhewn to Dr. Franklin, he communicated his ſentiments by way of introduction, to the following effect.

" Britain is ſaid to have produced originally " nothing but *ſloes*. What vaſt advantages have " been communicated to her by the fruits, ſeeds, " roots, herbage, animals, and arts of other coun- " tries! We are by their means become a wealthy " and a mighty nation, abounding in all good " things. Does not ſome *duty* hence ariſe from " us towards other countries ſtill remaining in " our former ſtate?

" Britain is now the firſt maritime power in " the world. Her ſhips are innumerable, capable " by their form, ſize, and ſtrength, of ſailing " all ſeas. Our ſeamen are equally bold, ſkilful

" and

" and hardy; dexterous in exploring the remoteſt
" regions, and ready to engage in voyages to
" unknown countries, though attended with the
" greateſt dangers. The inhabitants of thoſe
" countries, our *fellow men*, have canoes only,
" not knowing iron, they cannot build ſhips;
" they have little aſtronomy, and no knowlege
" of the compaſs to guide them: they cannot
" therefore come to us, or obtain any of our
" advantages. From theſe circumſtances, does
" not ſome duty ſeem to ariſe from us to them?
" Does not Providence by theſe diſtinguiſhing
" favours ſeem to call on us to do ſomething
" ourſelves for the common intereſt of huma-
" nity?

" Thoſe who think it their duty to aſk bread
" and other bleſſings daily from heaven, would
" they not think it equally a duty to communi-
" cate of thoſe bleſſings when they have received
" them; and ſhow their gratitude to their great
" Benefactor by the only means in their power,
" promoting the happineſs of his other children?

" *Ceres* is ſaid to have made a journey through
" many countries to teach the uſe of corn, and
" the art of raiſing it. For this ſingle benefit
" the grateful nations deified her. How much
" more may Engliſhmen deſerve ſuch honour, by
" communicating the knowledge and uſe not of
" corn only, but of all the other enjoyments
" earth can produce, and which they are now
" in poſſeſſion of. *Communiter bona profundere,*
" *Deum eſt.*

" Many voyages have been undertaken with " views of profit or of plunder, or to gratify " reſentment; to procure ſome advantage to " ourſelves, or do ſome miſchief to others: but " a voyage is now propoſed to viſit a diſtant " people on the other ſide the globe; not to " cheat them, not to rob them, not to ſeize their " lands, or enſlave their perſons; but merely to do " them good, and make them, as far as in our " power lies, to live as comfortably as ourſelves.

" It ſeems a laudable wiſh that all the nations " of the earth were connected by a knowlege of " each other, and a mutual exchange of benefits: " but a commercial nation particularly ſhould " wiſh for a general civilization of mankind, " ſince trade is always carried on to much greater " extent with people who have the arts and con- " veniencies of life, than it can be with naked " ſavages. We may therefore hope in this un- " dertaking to be of ſome ſervice to our country, " as well as to thoſe poor people, who, however " diſtant from us, are in truth related to us, and " whoſe intereſts do, in ſome degree, concern " every one who can ſay *Homo ſum*, &c."

Scheme of a voyage by ſubſcription, to convey the conveniencies of life, as fowls, hogs, goats, cattle, corn, iron, &c. to thoſe remote regions which are deſtitute of them, and to bring from thence ſuch productions as can be cultivated in this kingdom to the advantage of ſociety, in a ſhip under the command of *Alexander Dalrymple*.

Catt

		£
Catt or Bark, from the coal trade, of 350 tons, eſtimated at about	- -	2000
Extra expences, ſtores, boats, &c.	- -	3000
		5000

To be manned with 60 men at
4 ℔ man ℔ month

240
12

2880 ℔ annum
3

Wages and Proviſions	8640	for three years	8640
			13640
Cargo included, ſuppoſed	- - - - -		15000

The expences of this expedition are calculated for *three* years; but the greateſt part of the amount of wages will not be wanted till the ſhip returns, and a great part of the expence of proviſions will be ſaved by what is obtained in the courſe of the voyage by barter or otherwiſe, tho' it is proper to make proviſion for contingencies.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

EXTRACT

Extract of a Letter to Dr. Percival, *concerning the Proviſion made in* China *againſt Famine.*

I HAVE ſomewhere read that in China an account is yearly taken of the number of people, and the quantities of proviſion produced. This account is tranſmitted to the Emperor, whoſe miniſters can thence foreſee a ſcarcity likely to happen in any province, and from what province it can beſt be ſupplied in good time. To facilitate the collecting of this account, and prevent the neceſſity of entering houſes and ſpending time in aſking and anſwering queſtions, each houſe is furniſhed with a little board to be hung without the door, during a certain time each year; on which board are marked certain words, againſt which the inhabitant is to mark number or quantity, ſomewhat in this manner:

Men,
Women,
Children,
Rice or Wheat,
Fleſh, &c.

All under 16 are accounted children, and all above, men and women. Any other particulars which

which the government deſires information of, are occaſionally marked on the ſame boards. Thus the officers appointed to collect the accounts in each diſtrict, have only to paſs before the doors, and enter into their book what they find marked on the board, without giving the leaſt trouble to the family. There is a penalty on marking falſely, and as neighbours muſt know nearly the truth of each others account, they dare not expoſe themſelves by a falſe one, to each others accuſation. Perhaps ſuch a regulation is ſcarcely practicable with us *.

[* The above paſſage is taken from Dr. Percival's Eſſays, Vol. III. p. 25, being an extract from a letter written to him, by Dr. Franklin, on the ſubject of his obſervations on the ſtate of population in Mancheſter and other adjacent places. E.]

Poſitions

Poſitions to be Examined.*

1. ALL food or ſubſiſtence for mankind ariſe from the earth or waters.

2. Neceſſaries of life that are not foods, and all other conveniencies, have their values eſtimated by the proportion of food conſumed while we are employed in procuring them.

3. A ſmall people with a large territory may ſubſiſt on the productions of nature, with no other labour than that of gathering the vegetables and catching the animals.

4. A large people with a ſmall territory finds theſe inſufficient, and to ſubſiſt, muſt labour the earth, to make it produce greater quantities of vegetable food, ſuitable for the nouriſhment of men, and of the animals they intend to eat.

5. From this labour ariſes a *great increaſe* of vegetable and animal food, and of materials for clothing, as flax, wool, ſilk, &c. The ſuperfluity of theſe is wealth. With this wealth we pay for the labour employed in building our houſes, cities, &c. which are therefore only ſubſiſtence thus metamorphoſed.

6. *Manufactures* are only *another ſhape* into which ſo much proviſions and ſubſiſtence are

* [This article has been inſerted in *The Repoſitory for ſelect papers on Agriculture, Arts,* and *Manufactures.* Vol. I. page 350. E]

turned,

turned, as were *equal in value* to the manufactures produced. This appears from hence, that the manufacturer does not, in fact, obtain from the employer, for his labour, *more* than a mere ſubſiſtence, including raiment, fuel and ſhelter; all which derive their value from the proviſions conſumed in procuring them.

7. The produce of the earth, thus converted into manufactures, may be more eaſily carried to diſtant markets than before ſuch converſion.

8. *Fair commerce* is, where equal values are exchanged for equal, the expence of tranſport included. Thus, if it coſts A in *England* as much labour and charge to raiſe a buſhel of wheat, as it coſts B in *France* to produce four gallons of wine, then are four gallons of wine the fair exchange for a buſhel of wheat, A and B meeting at half diſtance with their commodities to make the exchange. The advantage of this fair commerce is, that each party increaſes the number of his enjoyments, having, inſtead of wheat alone, or wine alone, the uſe of both wheat and wine.

9. Where the labour and expence of producing both commodities are known to both parties, bargains will generally be fair and equal. Where they are known to one party only, bargains will often be unequal, knowledge taking its advantage of ignorance.

10. Thus he that carries 1000 buſhels of wheat abroad to ſell, may not probably obtain ſo great a profit thereon, as if he had firſt turned the wheat into manufactures, by ſubſiſting therewith

with the workmen while producing thoſe manufactures: ſince there are many expediting and facilitating methods of working, not generally known; and ſtrangers to the manufactures, though they know pretty well the expence of raiſing wheat, are unacquainted with thoſe ſhort methods of working, and thence being apt to ſuppoſe more labour employed in the manufactures than there really is, are more eaſily impoſed on in their value, and induced to allow more for them than they are honeſtly worth.

11. Thus the advantage of having manufactures in a country, does not conſiſt, as is commonly ſuppoſed, in their highly advancing the value of rough materials, of which they are formed; ſince, though ſix-pennyworth of flax may be worth twenty ſhillings when worked into lace, yet the very cauſe of its being worth twenty ſhillings is, that, beſides the flax, it has coſt nineteen ſhillings and ſixpence in ſubſiſtence to the manufacturer. But the advantage of manufactures is, that under their ſhape proviſions may be more eaſily carried to a foreign market; and by their means our traders may more eaſily cheat ſtrangers. Few, where it is not made, are judges of the value of lace. The importer may demand forty, and perhaps get thirty ſhillings for that which coſt him but twenty.

12. Finally, there ſeem to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth. The firſt is by *war*, as the *Romans* did, in plundering their conquered

quered neighbours. This is *robbery*.—The second by *commerce*, which is, generally *cheating*.—The third by *agriculture*, the only *honest way*; wherein man receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle wrought by the hand of God in his favour, as a reward for his innocent life, and his virtuous industry.

B. F.

April 4, 1769.

POLITICAL FRAGMENTS; *supposed either to be written by* Dr. Franklin, *or to contain sentiments nearly allied to his own**.

[§ 1. *Of the Employment of Time, and of Indolence; particularly as respecting the State.*]

ALL that live must be subsisted. Subsistence costs something. He that is industrious produces, by his industry, something that is an equivalent, and pays for his subsistence: he is therefore no charge or burden to society. The indolent are an expence uncompensated.

There can be no doubt but all kinds of employment that can be followed without prejudice from interruptions; work that can be taken up, and laid down, often in a day, without damage; (such as spinning, knitting, weaving, &c.) are highly advantageous to a community; because, in them, may be collected all the produce of those fragments of time, that occur in family-business, between the constant and necessary parts of it, that

* [The political fragments which are here presented to the reader, were gathered up from the notes, annexed to a pamphlet called *The Principles of Trade*, printed for *Brotherton* and *Sewel*, *London*, 1774, second edition.—The writer of this work speaks of assistance lent to him, in the following passage in his preface. 'Some very respectable friends have indulged me with their ideas and opinions. It is with the greatest pleasure we in this second edition most gratefully acknowledge the favour; and must add, that should the public hold this performance in any estimation, no small share belongs to those friends.' Our author is one of the respectable friends here alluded to. E.]

usually

uſually occupy females; as the time between riſing and preparing for breakfaſt, between breakfaſt and preparing for dinner, &c. &c. The amount of all theſe fragments, is, in the courſe of a year, very conſiderable to a ſingle family; to a ſtate proportionably. Highly profitable therefore it is, in this caſe alſo, to follow that divine direction, *gather up the fragments that nothing be loſt* Loſt time is loſt ſubſiſtence; it is therefore loſt treaſure.

Hereby in ſeveral families, many yards of linen have been produced from the employment of thoſe fragments only, in one year, though ſuch families were juſt the ſame in number as when not ſo employed.

It was an excellent ſaying of a certain *Chineſe* Emperor, *I will, if poſſible, have no idleneſs in my dominions; for if there be one man idle, ſome other man muſt ſuffer cold or hunger.* We take this Emperor's meaning to be, that the labour due to the public by each individual, not being performed by the indolent, muſt naturally fall to the ſhare of others, who muſt thereby ſuffer.

[§ 2. *Of Embargoes upon Corn, and of the Poor*]

In inland high countries, remote from the ſea, and whoſe rivers are ſmall, running *from* the country, and not *to* it, as is the caſe of *Switzerland*; great diſtreſs may ariſe from a courſe of bad harveſts, if public granaries are not provided, and kept well ſtored. Anciently too, before naviga-

tion was ſo general, ſhips ſo plenty, and commercial connections ſo well eſtabliſhed; even maritime countries might be occaſionally diſtreſſed by bad crops. But ſuch is now the facility of communication between thoſe countries, that an unreſtrained commerce can ſcarce ever fail of procuring a ſufficiency for any of them. If indeed any government is ſo imprudent, as to lay its hands on imported corn, forbid its exportation, or compel its ſale at limited prices; there the people may ſuffer ſome famine from merchants avoiding their ports. But wherever commerce is known to be always free, and the merchant abſolute maſter of his commodity, as in *Holland*, there will always be a reaſonable ſupply.

When an exportation of corn takes place, occaſioned by a higher price in ſome foreign countries, it is common to raiſe a clamour, on the ſuppoſition that we ſhall thereby produce a domeſtic famine. Then follows a prohibition, founded on the imaginary diſtreſs of the poor. The poor, to be ſure, if in diſtreſs, ſhould be relieved; but if the farmer could have a high price price for his corn from the foreign demand, muſt he by a prohibition of exportation be compelled to take a low price, not of the poor only, but of every one that eats bread, even the richeſt? the duty of relieving the poor is incumbent on the rich; but by this operation the whole burden of it is laid on the farmer, who is to relieve the rich at the ſame time. Of the poor too, thoſe who are maintained by the pariſhes have no right to claim this ſacrifice of the farmer;

farmer; as, while they have their allowance, it makes no difference to them, whether bread be cheap or dear. Thoſe working poor, who now mind buſineſs only *five* or *four* days in the week, if bread ſhould be ſo dear as to oblige them to work the whole *ſix* required by the commandment, do not ſeem to be aggrieved, ſo as to have a right to public redreſs. There will then remain, comparatively, only a few families in every diſtrict, who, from ſickneſs or a great number of children, will be ſo diſtreſſed by a high price of corn, as to need relief; and theſe ſhould be taken care of by particular benefactions, without reſtraining the farmer's profit.

Thoſe who fear, that exportation may ſo far drain the country of corn, as to ſtarve ourſelves, fear what never did, nor ever can happen. They may as well, when they view the tide ebbing towards the ſea, fear that all the water will leave the river. The price of corn, like water, will find its own level. The more we export, the dearer it becomes at home; the more is received abroad, the cheaper it become there; and, as ſoon as theſe prices are equal, the exportation ſtops of courſe. As the ſeaſons vary in different countries, the calamity of a bad harveſt is never univerſal. If then, all ports were always open, and all commerce free; every maritime country would generally eat bread at the medium price, or average of all the harveſts; which would probably be more equal than we can make it by our artificial regulations, and therefore a more ſteady encourage-

ment to agriculture. The nation would all have bread at this middle price; and that nation, which at any time inhumanely refuſes to relieve the diſtreſſes of another nation, deſerves no compaſſion when in diſtreſs itſelf.

[§ 3. *Of the Effect of Dearneſs of Proviſions upon Working, and upon Manufactures.*]

The common people do not work for pleaſure generally, but from neceſſity. Cheapneſs of proviſions makes them more idle; leſs work is then done, it is then more in demand proportionally, and of courſe the price riſes. Dearneſs of proviſions obliges the manufacturer to work more days and more hours; thus more work is done than equals the uſual demand; of courſe it becomes cheaper, and the manufactures in conſequence.

[§ 4. *Of an open Trade.*]

Perhaps, in general, it would be better if government meddled no farther with trade, than to protect it, and let it take its courſe. Moſt of the ſtatutes or acts, edicts, arrets, and placarts of parliaments, princes, and ſtates, for regulating, directing, or reſtraining of trade; have, we think, been either political blunders, or jobs obtained by artful men for private advantage under pretence of public good. When *Colbert* aſſembled ſome wiſe old merchants of *France*, and deſired their advice and opinion how he could beſt ſerve and promote commerce; their anſwer, after conſultation,

ſultation, was in three words only, *Laiſſez nous faire*; 'Let us alone.'—It is ſaid by a very ſolid writer of the ſame nation, that he is well advanced in the ſcience of politics, who knows the full force of that maxim, *Pas trop gouverner*, 'not to 'govern too much;' which, perhaps, would be of more uſe when applied to trade, than in any other public concern. It were therefore to be wiſhed, that commerce were as free between all the nations of the world, as it is between the ſeveral counties of *England*; ſo would all, by mutual communication, obtain more enjoyments. Thoſe counties do not ruin each other by trade, neither would the nations. No nation was ever ruined by trade, even, ſeemingly, the moſt diſadvantageous.

Wherever deſirable ſuperfluities are imported, induſtry is excited, and thereby plenty is produced. Were only neceſſaries permitted to be purchaſed, men would work no more than was neceſſary for that purpoſe.

[§ 5. *Of Prohibitions with reſpect to the Exportation of Gold and Silver.*]

Could *Spain* and *Portugal* have ſucceeded in executing their fooliſh laws for *hedging in the cuckow*, as Locke calls it, and have kept at home all their gold and ſilver, thoſe metals would by this time, have been of little more value than ſo much lead or iron. Their plenty would have leſſened their value. We ſee the folly of theſe edicts: but are not our own prohibitory and reſtrictive laws, that

are profeſſedly made with intention to bring a balance in our favour from our trade with foreign nations to be paid in money, and laws to prevent the neceſſity of exporting that money, which if they could be thoroughly executed, would make money as plenty, and of as little value; I ſay, are not ſuch laws akin to thoſe *Spaniſh* edicts; follies of the ſame family?

[§ 6. *Of the Returns for foreign Articles.*]

In fact, the *produce of other countries* can hardly be obtained, unleſs by fraud and rapine, without giving the *produce of our land or our induſtry* in exchange for them. If we have mines of gold and ſilver, gold and ſilver may then be called the produce of our land: if we have not, we can only fairly obtain thoſe metals by giving for them the produce of our land or induſtry. When we have them, they are then only that produce or induſtry in another ſhape; which we may give, if the trade requires it and our other produce will not ſuit, in exchange for the produce of ſome other country that furniſhes what we have more occaſion for, or more deſire. When we have, to an inconvenient degree, parted with our gold and ſilver, our induſtry is ſtimulated afreſh to procure more; that, by its means, we may contrive to procure the ſame advantage.

[§ 7. *Of Reſtraints upon Commerce in Time of War.*]

When princes make war by probibiting commerce, each may hurt himſelf as much as his enemy.

enemy. Traders, who by their buſineſs are promoting the common good of mankind, as well as farmers and fiſhermen who labour for the ſubſiſtence of all, ſhould never be interrupted, or moleſted in their buſineſs; but enjoy the protection of all in the time of war, as well as in time of peace.

This policy, thoſe we are pleaſed to call Barbarians, have, in a great meaſure, adopted; for the trading ſubjects of any power, with whom the Emperor of *Morocco* may be at war, are not liable to capture, when within ſight of his land, going or coming; and have otherwiſe free liberty to trade and reſide in his dominions.

As a maritime power, we preſume it is not thought right, that *Great Britain* ſhould grant ſuch freedom, except partially; as in the caſe of war with France, when tobacco is allowed to be ſent thither under the ſanction of paſſports.

[§ 8. *Exchanges in Trade may be gainful to each Party.*]

In tranſactions of trade, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that like gaming, what one party *gains* the other muſt neceſſarily *loſe*. The gain to each may be equal. If A has more corn than he can conſume, but wants cattle; and B has more cattle, but wants corn, exchange is gain to each: hereby the common ſtock of comforts in life, is increaſed.

[§ 9. *Of Paper Credit.*]

It is impoſſible for government to circumſcribe, or fix the extent of paper credit, which muſt of courſe fluctuate. Government may as well pretend to lay down rules for the operations, or the confidence of every individual in the courſe of his trade. Any ſeeming temporary evil ariſing, muſt naturally work its own cure *.

[* The reader will ſee Dr. Franklin's ſentiments on paper currencies in the ſequel of this work. E.]

On the Price of Corn, and Management of the POOR *.

To Meſſieurs the PUBLIC.

I AM one of that claſs of people that feeds you all, and at preſent is abuſed by you all;—in ſhort, I am a *farmer*.

By your news-papers we are told, that God had ſent a very ſhort harveſt to ſome other countries of Europe. I thought this might be in favour of Old *England*; and that now we ſhould get a good price for our grain, which would bring millions among us, and make us flow in money: that to be ſure is ſcarce enough.

[* The following extracts of a letter ſigned *Columella*, and addreſſed to the editors of *the Repoſitory for ſelect papers on Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures*, (See Vol. I. p. 352.) will again ſerve the purpoſe of preparing thoſe who read it, for entering upon this paper.

'GENTLEMEN,

'THERE is now publiſhing in France a periodical work, called '*Ephemeridis du Citoyen*, in which ſeveral points intereſting to thoſe 'concerned in agriculture, are from time to time diſcuſſed by ſome 'able hands. In looking over one of the volumes of this work a 'few days ago, I found a little piece written by one of our country-'men, and which our vigilant neighbours had taken from *the Lon-'don Chronicle* in 1766. The author is a gentleman well known 'to every man of letters in Europe, and perhaps there is none, in 'this age, to whom mankind in general are more indebted.

'That this piece may not be loſt to our own country, I beg you 'will give it a place in your Repoſitory: it was written in favor 'of the farmers, when they ſuffered ſo much in our public papers, 'and were alſo plundered by the mob in many places.

The principles on which this piece is grounded, are given more at large in the *Political Fragments*, art. 2. ſee p. 49. E.]

But

But the wiſdom of government forbad the exportation *.

Well, ſays I, then we muſt be content with the market-price at home.

No, ſay my Lords the mob, you ſha'n't have that. Bring your corn to market if you dare;—we'll ſell it for you, for leſs money, or take it for nothing.

Being thus attacked by both ends *of the conſtitution*, the head and the tail *of government*, what am I to do?

Muſt I keep my corn in the barn to feed, and increaſe the breed of rats?—be it ſo;—they cannot be leſs thankful, than thoſe I have been uſed to feed.

Are we farmers the only people to be grudged the profits of our honeſt labour?—And why? One of the late ſcribblers againſt us, gives a bill of fare of the proviſions at my daughter's wedding, and proclaims to all the world, that we had the inſolence to eat beef and pudding!—Has he not read the precept in the good book, *Thou ſhalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn*; or does he think us leſs worthy of good living than our oxen?

O, but the manufacturers! the manufacturers! they are to be favoured, and they muſt have bread at a cheap rate!

* [It is not neceſſary to repeat in what degree Dr. *Franklin* reſpected the miniſters, to whom he alludes.—The embargo upon corn was but a ſingle meaſure: which, it is enough to ſay, an hoſt of politicians thought well-adviſed, but ill-defended.—Of the great and honourable ſervices of the Earl of *Chatham* to his country, Dr. *Franklin* has borne the ampleſt teſtimony. E.]

Hark ye, Mr. Oaf;—The farmers live ſplendidly, you ſay. And pray, would you have them hoard the money they get? Their fine clothes and furniture, do they make them themſelves or for one another, and ſo keep the money among them? Or, do they employ theſe your darling manufacturers, and ſo ſcatter it again all over the nation?

The wool would produce me a better price, if it were ſuffered to go to foreign markets; but that, Meſſieurs the Public, your laws will not permit. It muſt be kept all at home, that our *dear* manufacturers may have it the cheaper. And then, having yourſelves thus leſſened our encouragement for raiſing ſheep, you curſe us for the ſcarcity of mutton!

I have heard my grandfather ſay, that the farmers ſubmitted to the prohibition on the exportation of wool, being made to expect and believe that when the manufacturer bought his wool cheaper, they ſhould alſo have their cloth cheaper. But the deuce a bit. It has been growing dearer and dearer from that day to this. How ſo? Why, truly, the cloth is exported; and that keep up the price.

Now if it be a good principle, that the exportation of a commodity is to be reſtrained, that ſo our people at home may have it the cheaper; ſtick to that principle, and go thorough ſtitch with it. Prohibit the exportation of your cloth, your leather, and ſhoes, your ironware, and your manufactures of all ſorts, to make

make them all cheaper at home. And cheap enough they will be, I will warrant you—till people leave off making them.

Some folks ſeem to think they ought never to be eaſy till England becomes another Lubberland, where it is fancied the ſtreets are paved with penny-rolls, the houſes tiled with pancakes, and chickens, ready roaſted, cry, Come eat me.

I ſay, when you are ſure you have got a good principle, ſtick to it, and carry it thorough.—I hear it is ſaid, that though it was *neceſſary and right* for the m——-y to adviſe a prohibition of the exportation of corn, yet it was *contrary to law*; and alſo, that though it was *contrary to law* for the mob to obſtruct waggons, yet it was *neceſſary and right*.—Juſt the ſame thing to a tittle. Now they tell me, an act of indemnity ought to paſs in favour of the m——y, to ſecure them from the conſequences of having acted illegally.—If ſo, paſs another in favour of the mob. Others ſay, ſome of the mob ought to be hanged, by way of example.——If ſo,—but I ſay no more than I have ſaid before, *when you are ſure that you have got a good principle, go through with it.*

You ſay, poor labourers cannot afford to buy bread at a high price, unleſs they had higher wages.—Poſſibly.—But how ſhall we farmers be able to afford our labourers higher wages, if you will not allow us to get, when we might have it, a higher price for our corn?

By

By all that I can learn, we ſhould at leaſt have had a guinea a quarter more, if the exportation had been allowed. And this money England would have got from foreigners.

But, it ſeems, we farmers muſt take ſo much leſs, that the poor may have it ſo much cheaper.

This operates then as a tax for the maintenance of the poor.—A very good thing, you will ſay. But I aſk, why a partial tax? Why laid on us farmers only?—If it be a good thing, pray, Meſſieurs the Public, take your ſhare of it, by indemnifying us a little out of your public treaſury. In doing a good thing, there is both honour and pleaſure;—you are welcome to your ſhare of both.

For my own part, I am not ſo well ſatisfied of the goodneſs of this thing. I am for doing good to the poor, but I differ in opinion about the means. — I think the beſt way of doing good to the poor, is not making them eaſy *in* poverty, but leading or driving them *out* of it. In my youth I travelled much, and I obſerved in different countries, that the more public proviſions were made for the poor, the leſs they provided for themſelves, and of courſe became poorer. And, on the contrary, the leſs was done for them, the more they did for themſelves, and became richer. There is no country in the world where ſo many proviſions are eſtabliſhed for them; ſo many hoſpitals to receive them when they are ſick or lame, founded and maintained by voluntary charities; ſo many alms-houſes for the aged of both ſexes,

together

together with a ſolemn general law made by the rich to ſubject their eſtates to a heavy tax for the ſupport of the poor. Under all theſe obligations, are our poor modeſt, humble, and thankful? and do they uſe their beſt endeavours to maintain themſelves, and lighten our ſhoulders of this burthen?—On the contrary, I affirm that there is no country in the world in which the poor are more idle, diſſolute, drunken, and inſolent. The day you paſſed that act, you took away from before their eyes the greateſt of all inducements to induſtry, frugality, and ſobriety, by giving them a dependance on ſomewhat elſe than a careful accumulation during youth and health, for ſupport in age or ſickneſs. In ſhort, you offered a premium for the encouragement of idleneſs, and you ſhould not now wonder that it has had its effect in the increaſe of poverty. Repeal that law, and you will ſoon ſee a change in their manners, *Saint Monday* and *Saint Tueſday*, will ſoon ceaſe to be holidays. SIX *days ſhalt thou labour*, though one of the old commandments long treated as out of date, will again be looked upon as a reſpectable precept; induſtry will increaſe, and with it plenty among the lower people; their circumſtances will mend, and more will be done for their happineſs by inuring them to provide for themſelves, than could be done by dividing all your eſtates among them.

Excuſe me, Meſſieurs the Public, if upon this *intereſting* ſubject, I put you to the trouble of reading a little of *my* nonſenſe; I am ſure I have lately

lately read a great deal of *yours*; and therefore from you (at leaſt from thoſe of you who are writers) I deſerve a little indulgence.

I am yours, &c.

ARATOR*.

[* The late Mr. Owen Ruffhead being ſome time ago employed in preparing a *Digeſt of our Poor laws*, communicated a copy of it to Dr. Franklin for his advice. Dr. Franklin recommended that proviſion ſhould be made therein, for the printing on a ſheet of paper and diſperſing, in each pariſh in the kingdom, annual accounts of every diſburſement and receipt of its officers. It is obvious to remark how greatly this muſt tend to check both the officers and the poor, and to inform and intereſt the pariſhioners with reſpect to pariſh concerns.—Some of the *American* colonies actually practiſe this meaſure with a ſucceſs which might juſtify its adoption here.

Later improvements however in our *Engliſh* poor laws, have not only been meditated, but attempted.—In particular, in 1773, an act of parliament was propoſed, in order to invite the poor to ſet apart money for the purchaſe of annuities, in all pariſhes and townſhips managing the poor's-rate, that could admit of, and would formally conſent to the regulation. Some of the particulars of this ſcheme were as follows. The annuities, which to accommodate the poor were payable quarterly, were in no caſe to exceed 20*l.* and no principal purchaſe money was to be received of leſs amount than 5*l.* at a time; the parties might chooſe any age for the purchaſe between 15 and 75, but they could not receive the annuity before 50 if men, and 35 if women, the annuity in the mean time increaſing in proportion as they had waited; the annuities alſo could not knowingly be granted to any but thoſe entitled to legal pariſh ſettlements, nor for any other lives than thoſe of the grantees; though they were ſaleable, provided the firſt refuſal of them was offered to the grantors. The proper officers of the pariſh or townſhip (who were conſtituted the grantors,) in order to effect theſe purpoſes, were to be erected into a corporation with a ſeal; the grants (which were framed according to a preſcribed and cheap form, and protected from frauds) were to be in ſeveral ways authenticated and preſerved; the annuities were to be taken up in ſome parliamentary fund, after the rate of 3 per cent. intereſt, negociable at the bank of England; and the accounts after being properly kept and ſigned, were

On SMUGGLING, *and its various Species* *.

SIR,

THERE are many people that would be thought, and even think themſelves, *honeſt* men, who fail nevertheleſs in particular points of honeſty; deviating from that character ſometimes by the prevalence of mode or cuſtom, and ſometimes through mere inattention; ſo that their

* [This letter is extracted from the *London Chronicle* for *November* 24, 1767, and is addreſſed to the printer of that newspaper. E.]

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were to be annually audited and recorded with the juſtices at the quarter-ſeſſions. The relief to the poor in caſe of delay of payment was ſummary and almoſt inſtant; but in return, the corporation might receive gifts and legacies, and have the benefit of all neglected annuities, to the eaſing of the poor's-rate; beſides other advantages given them by the calculations, particularly that ariſing from a low ſtandard of intereſt, which neceſſarily rendered the terms of the annuity in proportion dearer to the poor.—It was thought that domeſtic uſe and œconomy were concerned, in thus reſcuing ſomewhat from profligacy and unhealthy debauchery, in applying the ſurplus of health and of ſtrength to the relief of the penury and infirmities of age, and in promoting good habits; yet without depriving the ſtate on the whole of effectual labour, or leaving it incumbered with the charge of individuals, who might aſſiſt themſelves.—But this ſcheme, which was propoſed by Baron Maſeres, regulated and ſuperintended as to the calculations by Dr. Price, and ſupported by Sir George Savile and Mr. Dowdeſwell, only paſſed the commons: It was rejected by the lords; chiefly becauſe the landed intereſt there was alarmed at the poor's rate being made the ſecurity for the annuities, in caſe of deficiency in the funds.

However the burthen of the poor's-rate was ſtill felt too conſiderable not to demand enquiry; and an act ſoon paſſed, calling for a general abſtract of the returns made by the overſeers of the poor. It appeared in conſequence, that there were

Totals

their *honeſty* is partial only, and not *general* or univerſal. Thus one who would ſcorn to over-reach you in a bargain, ſhall make no ſcruple of tricking you a little now and then at cards; another that plays with the utmoſt fairneſs, ſhall with great freedom cheat you in the ſale of a horſe. But there is no kind of diſhoneſty, into which otherwiſe good people more eaſily and frequently fall, than that of defrauding government of its revenues by ſmuggling when they have an opportunity, or encouraging ſmugglers by buying their goods.

Totals raiſed by the poor's-rate, from Eaſter 1775, to Eaſter 1776,		Of which there was expended on the poor alone,	
In England	£ 1,679,585	£	1,523,164
And in Wales	40,732		33,641
	1,720,317		1,556,805

The remainder of the ſum raiſed was applied to county uſes, except about 26,000*l.* which ſeems not to have been brought into the year's account. Nearly one twentieth of the enormous ſum expended on the poor, was for the ſingle article of rent, &c. and the litigations concerning ſettlements and the removal of paupers made another article of nearly half the ſame amount.—In *Davenant* we find an eſtimate of the poor's-rate, made towards the latter end of Charles the ſecond's reign, by a reaſonable medium, as he ſtates, of ſeveral years:

The groſs ſums are,	For England	£ 631,609
	And for Wales	33,753
		665,362

So that while the poor's-rate of Wales has remained in a manner ſtationary for this period, that of England does not fall much ſhor of being trebled.

Since the year 1776, no farther public meaſures ſeem to have been taken reſpecting the regulation of the poor.

(See on the above ſubjects, The propoſed act of parliament, with the annexed tables and inſtructions, printed for Eyre and Strahan; alſo the Abſtract of the returns of the poor's-rate, printed for ditto; Dr. Price on payments, 3d edit. p. 115; and Whitworth's Davenant, Vol. I. p. 39.) E.]

I fell into theſe reflections the other day, on hearing two gentlemen of reputation diſcourſing about a ſmall eſtate, which one of them was inclined to ſell, and the other to buy; when the ſeller, in recommending the place, remarked, that its ſituation was very advantageous on this account, that being on the ſea-coaſt in a ſmuggling country, one had frequent opportunities of buying many of the expenſive articles uſed in a family, (ſuch as tea, coffee, chocolate, brandy, wines, cambricks, Bruſſels laces, French ſilks, and all kinds of India goods,) 20, 30, and in ſome articles 50 *per cent.* cheaper than they could be had in the more interior parts, of traders that paid duty.—The other *honeſt* gentlemen allowed this to be an advantage, but inſiſted that the ſeller, in the advanced price he demanded on that account, rated the advantage much above its value. And neither of them ſeemed to think dealing with ſmugglers, a practice that an *honeſt* man (provided he got his goods cheap) had the leaſt reaſon to be aſhamed of.

At a time when the load of our public debt, and the heavy expence of maintaining our fleets and armies to be ready for our defence on occaſion, makes it neceſſary not only to continue old taxes, but often to look out for new ones; perhaps it may not be unuſeful to ſtate this matter in a light that few ſeem to have conſidered it in.

The

The people of Great Britain, under the happy inſtitution of this country, have a privilege few other countries enjoy, that of chooſing the third branch of the legiſlature; which branch has alone the power of regulating their taxes. Now whenever the government finds it neceſſary for the common benefit, advantage, and ſafety of the nation, for the ſecurity of our liberties, property, religion, and every thing that is dear to us; that certain ſums ſhall be yearly raiſed by taxes, duties, &c. and paid into the public treaſury, thence to be diſpenſed by government for thoſe purpoſes; ought not every *honeſt man* freely and willingly to pay his juſt proportion of this neceſſary expence? Can he poſſibly preſerve a right to that character, if by any fraud, ſtratagem, or contrivance, he avoids that payment in whole or in part.

What ſhould we think of a companion, who having ſupped with his friends at a tavern, and partaken equally of the joys of the evening with the reſt of us, would nevertheleſs contrive by ſome artifice to ſhift his ſhare of the reckoning upon others, in order to go off ſcot-free? If a man who practiſed this, would, when detected, be deemed and called a ſcoundrel; what ought he to be called, who can enjoy all the ineſtimable benefits of public ſociety, and yet by ſmuggling, or dealing with ſmugglers, contrive to evade paying his juſt ſhare of the expence, as ſettled by his own repreſentatives in parliament; and wrongfully throw it upon his honeſter and per-

haps much poorer neighbours? He will perhaps be ready to tell me, that he does not wrong his neighbours; he ſcorns the imputation; he only cheats the King a little, who is very able to bear it. This however is a miſtake. The public treaſure is the treaſure of the nation, to be applied to national purpoſes. And when a duty is laid for a particular public and neceſſary purpoſe, if through ſmuggling that duty falls ſhort of raiſing the ſum required, and other duties muſt therefore be laid to make up the deficiency; all the additional ſum laid by the new duties and paid by other people, though it ſhould amount to no more than a halfpenny or a farthing *per* head, is ſo much actually picked out of the pockets of thoſe other people by the ſmugglers and their abettors and encouragers. Are they then any better or other than pickpockets? and what mean, low, raſcally pickpockets muſt thoſe be, that can pick pockets for halfpence and for farthings?

I would not however be ſuppoſed to allow in what I have juſt ſaid, that cheating the King is a leſs offence againſt honeſty, than cheating the public. The King and the public in this caſe are different names for the ſame thing; but if we conſider the King diſtinctly it will not leſſen the crime: it is no juſtification of a robbery, that the perſon robbed was rich and able to bear it. The King has as much right to juſtice as the meaneſt of his ſubjects; and as he is truly the common *father* of his people, thoſe that rob him

him fall under the ſcripture woe, pronounced againſt the ſon *that robbeth his father, and ſaith it is no ſin.*

Mean as this practice is, do we not daily ſee people of character and fortune engaged in it for trifling advantages to themſelves?—Is any lady aſhamed to requeſt of a gentleman of her acquaintance, that when he returns from abroad, he would ſmuggle her home a piece of ſilk or lace from France or Flanders? Is any gentleman aſhamed to undertake and execute the commiſſion?—Not in the leaſt. They will talk of it freely, even before others whoſe pockets they are thus contriving to pick by this piece of knavery.

Among other branches of the revenue, that of the Poſt-Office is, by a late law, appropriated to the diſcharge of our public debt, to defray the expences of the ſtate. None but members of parliament, and a few public officers have now a right to avoid, by a frank, the payment of poſtage. When any letter not written by them or on their buſineſs, is franked by any of them, it is a hurt to the revenue; an injury which they muſt now take the pains to conceal by writing the whole ſuperſcription themſelves. And yet ſuch is our inſenſibility to juſtice in this particular, that nothing is more common than to ſee, even in a reputable company, a *very honeſt* gentleman or lady declare, his or her intention to cheat the nation of three-pence by a frank; and without bluſhing apply to one of the very legiſlators themſelves, with a modeſt requeſt that

he would be pleaſed to become an accomplice in the crime, and aſſiſt in the perpetration.

There are thoſe who by theſe practices take a great deal in a year out of the public purſe, and put the money into their own private pockets. If paſſing through a room where public treaſure is depoſited, a man takes the opportunity of clandeſtinely pocketing and carrying off a guinea, is he not truly and properly a thief? And if another evades paying into the treaſury a guinea he ought to pay in, and applies it to his own uſe, when he knows it belongs to the public as much as that which has been paid in; what difference is there in the nature of the crime, or the baſeneſs of committing it?

Some laws make the receiving of ſtolen goods equally penal with ſtealing, and upon this principle, that if there were no receivers there would be few thieves. Our proverb too, ſays truly, that *the receiver is as bad as the thief.* By the ſame reaſoning, as there would be few ſmugglers, if there were none who knowingly encouraged them by buying their goods, we may ſay that the encouragers of ſmuggling are as bad as the ſmugglers; and that as ſmugglers are a kind of thieves, both equally deſerve the puniſhments of thievery.

In this view of wronging the revenue, what muſt we think of thoſe who can evade paying for their wheels and their plate, in defiance of law and juſtice, and yet declaim againſt corruption and peculation, as if their own hands and hearts

hearts were pure and unſullied? The *Americans* offend us grievouſly, when, contrary to our laws, they ſmuggle goods into their own country: and yet they had no hand in making thoſe laws. I do not however pretend from thence to juſtify them. But I think the offence much greater in thoſe who either directly or indirectly have been concerned in making the very laws they break. And when I hear them exclaiming againſt the *Americans*, and for every little infringement of the acts of trade, or obſtruction given by a petty mob to an officer of our cuſtoms in that country, calling for vengeance againſt the whole people as REBELS and Traitors; I cannot help thinking there are ſtill thoſe in the world who can *ſee a mote in their brother's eye, while they do not diſcern a beam in their own*; and that the old ſaying is as true now as ever it was, *one man may better ſteal a horſe, than another look over the hedge.*

F. B.

A PARABLE *againſt Perſecution, in Imitation of Scripture Language* *.

AND it came to paſs after theſe things, that Abraham ſat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the ſun. And behold a man bent with age, coming from the way of the wilderneſs leaning on a ſtaff. And Abraham aroſe, and met him, and ſaid unto him, Turn in, I pray thee, and waſh thy feet, and tarry all night; and thou ſhalt ariſe early in the morning, and go on thy way. And the man ſaid, Nay; for I will abide under this tree. But Abraham preſſed him greatly: ſo he turned and they went into the tent: and Abraham baked unleaven bread, and they did eat. And when Abraham ſaw that

* [I have taken this piece from the *Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man*, written by Lord *Kaims*, and ſhall preface it with his Lordſhip's own words. See Vol. II. p. 472, 473.

' The following *Parable againſt Perſecution* was communicated ' to me by Dr. *Franklin* of *Philadelphia*, a man who makes a great ' figure in the learned world: and who would ſtill make a greater ' figure for benevolence and candour, were virtue as much regarded ' in this declining age as knowledge.

* * * * * * *

' The hiſtorical ſtyle of the *Old Teſtament* is here finely imitated; ' and the moral muſt ſtrike every one who is not ſunk in ſtupidity ' and ſuperſtition. Were it really a chapter of *Geneſis*, one is apt ' to think, that perſecution could never have ſhown a bare face ' among Jews or Chriſtians. But alas! that is a vain thought. ' Such a paſſage in the *Old Teſtament*, would avail as little againſt ' the rancorous paſſions of men, as the following paſſages in the ' *New Teſtament*, though perſecution cannot be condemned in ' terms more explicit. " Him that is weak in the faith, receive " you, but not to doubtful diſputations. For, &c." E.]

the

the man bleſſed not God, he ſaid unto him, Wherefore doſt thou not worſhip the moſt high God, Creator of heaven and earth? And the man anſwered and ſaid, I do not worſhip thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myſelf a god, which abideth always in my houſe, and provideth me with all things. And Abraham's zeal was kindled againſt the man, and he aroſe, and fell upon him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderneſs. And God called unto Abraham, ſaying, Abraham, where is the ſtranger? And Abraham anſwered and ſaid, Lord, he would not worſhip thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven him out from before my face into the wilderneſs. And God ſaid, have I borne with him theſe hundred and ninety and eight years, and nouriſhed him, and clothed him, notwithſtanding his rebellion againſt me; and couldſt not thou, who art thyſelf a ſinner, bear with him one night *?

* [Dr. *Franklin*, as I have been told, has often impoſed this parable upon his friends and acquaintance, as a part of a chapter of *Geneſis*. E.]

A LETTER

A LETTER *concerning Perſecution in former Ages, the Maintenance of the Clergy,* American *Biſhops, and the State of Toleration in* Old England *and* New England *compared*.*

SIR,

I Underſtand from the public papers, that in the debates on the bill for relieving the Diſſenters in the point of ſubſcription to the church articles, ſundry reflections were thrown out againſt the people; importing, that they themſelves are of a perſecuting intolerant ſpirit, for that when they had the ſuperiority, they perſecuted the church; and ſtill perſecute it in *America*, where they compel its members to pay taxes for maintaining the Preſbyterian or Independent worſhip, and at the ſame time refuſe them a toleration in the full exerciſe of their religion, by the adminiſtrations of a biſhop.

If we look back into hiſtory for the character of the preſent ſects in Chriſtianity, we ſhall find few that have not, in their turns, been perſecutors and complainers of perſecution. The primitive Chriſtians thought perſecution extremely wrong in the Pagans, but practiſed it on one another.

* [The above letter firſt appeared in one of the public papers on *June* 3, 1772, and ſeems to have been addreſſed to the printer. The ſpirited writer of the *Two letters to the prelates* republiſhed it in an appendix to that pamphlet, without, however, naming Dr. *Franklin* as the author, but expreſſing it to be the production 'of 'a gentleman highly reſpected in the literary world.' E.]

another. The firſt Proteſtants of the church of *England* blamed perſecution in the *Romiſh* church, but practiſed it againſt the *Puritans*: theſe found it wrong in the biſhops, but fell into the ſame practice both here and in New England.—To account for this, we ſhould remember, that the doctrine of *toleration* was not then known, or had not prevailed in the world. Perſecution was therefore not ſo much the fault of the ſect as of the times. It was not in thoſe days deemed wrong *in itſelf*. The general opinion was only, that thoſe *who are in error* ought not to perſecute *the truth*: but the *poſſeſſors of truth* were in the right to perſecute error, in order to deſtroy it. Thus every ſect believing itſelf poſſeſſed of *all truth*, and that every tenet differing from theirs was *error*, conceived that when the power was in their hands, perſecution was a duty required of them by that God whom they ſuppoſed to be offended with hereſy.—By degrees, more moderate *and more modeſt* ſentiments have taken place in the Chriſtian world; and among Proteſtants particularly, all diſclaim perſecution, none vindicate it, and few practiſe it.—We ſhould then ceaſe to reproach each other with what was done by our anceſtors, but judge of the preſent character of ſects or churches by their *preſent conduct* only *.

Now

* [‘ Toleration in religion, though obvious to common under-
‘ ſtanding, was not however the production of reaſon, but of com-
‘ merce. The advantage of toleration for promoting commerce,
‘ was

Now to determine on the juſtice of this charge againſt the preſent Diſſenters, particularly thoſe in *America*, let us conſider the following facts. They went from England to eſtabliſh a new country for themſelves, *at their own expence*, where they might enjoy the free exerciſe of religion in their own way. When they had purchaſed the territory of the natives, they granted the lands out in townſhips; requiring for it neither purchaſe-money nor quit-rent, but this condition only to be complied with; that the freeholders ſhould ſupport a goſpel-miniſter (meaning probably one of the then governing ſects) and a free-ſchool, within the townſhip. Thus, what is commonly called Preſbyterianiſm became the *eſtabliſhed religion* of that country. All went on well in this way, while the ſame religious opinions were general; the ſupport of miniſter and ſchool being raiſed by a proportionate tax on the lands. But, in proceſs of time, ſome becoming Quakers*, ſome Baptiſts, and of late years, ſome returning

'was diſcovered long before by the *Portugueſe*. They were too 'zealous Catholics to venture ſo bold a meaſure in *Portugal*; 'but it was permitted in *Goa*, and the inquiſition in that town 'was confined to Roman Catholics.' Lord *Kaims's Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man*, Vol. II. p. 474. E.]

* ['No perſon appeared in *New England* who profeſſed the 'opinion of the Quakers, until 1656; [i. e. about 36 years 'after the firſt ſettling of the colony]; when *Mary Fiſher* and '*Ann Auſtin* came from *Barbadoes*; and ſoon after, nine others 'arrived in the ſhip *Speedwell* from *London*.' They were ſucceſsful in their preaching; and the provincial government, wiſhing to keep the colony free from them, attempted to ſend away ſuch as they diſcovered, and prevent the arrival of others. Securities,

returning to the church of England (through the laudable endeavours and a *proper application* * of their funds by the ſociety for propagating the goſpel), objections were made to the payment of a tax appropriated to the ſupport of a church they diſapproved and had forſaken. The civil magiſtrates, however, continued for a time to collect and apply the tax according to the original laws which remained in force; and they did it the more freely, as thinking it juſt and equitable that the holders of lands ſhould pay what was contracted to be paid when they were granted, as the only conſideration for the grant; and what had been conſidered by all ſubſequent purchaſers as a perpetual incumbrance on the eſtate, bought therefore at a proportionably cheaper rate; a payment which, it was thought, no honeſt man ought to avoid, under pretence of his having changed his religious perſuaſion: And this, I ſuppoſe, is one of the beſt grounds of demanding tythes of diſſenters now in *England*. But the practice being clamoured againſt by the epiſcopalians as perſecution, the legiſlature of the province of *Maſſachuſets Bay*, near thirty years ſince, paſſed an act

rities, fines, baniſhment, impriſonment, and corporal puniſhments were inſtituted for this purpoſe; but with ſo little effect, that at laſt 'a law was made for puniſhing with death, all ſuch 'as ſhould *return* into the juriſdiction *after baniſhment*. A few 'were hanged!' (See the hiſtory of the *Britiſh* dominions, 4to, 1773, p. 118, 120.) E.]

* [They were to ſpread the goſpel, and maintain a learned and orthodox clergy, where miniſters were wanted or ill-provided; adminiſtering God's word and ſacraments, and preventing atheiſm, infidelity, popery, and idolatry. E.]

for

for their relief, requiring, indeed, the tax to be paid as uſual; but directing that the ſeveral ſums levied from members of the church of England, ſhould be paid over to the miniſter of that church with whom ſuch members uſually attended divine worſhip; which miniſter had power given him to receive, and, on occaſion, *to recover the ſame by law.*

It ſeems that legiſlature conſidered the end of the tax was, to ſecure and improve the morals of the people, and promote their happineſs by ſupporting among them the public worſhip of God and the preaching of the goſpel; that where particular people fancied a particular mode, that mode might probably, therefore, be of moſt uſe to thoſe people; and that if the good was done, it was not ſo material in what mode or by whom it was done. The conſideration that their brethren, the Diſſenters in *England*, were ſtill compelled to pay tythes to the clergy of the church, had not weight enough with the legiſlature to prevent this moderate act, which ſtill continues in full force; and I hope no uncharitable conduct of the church toward the Diſſenters will ever provoke them to repeal it. — — —

With regard to *a Biſhop*, I know not upon what ground the Diſſenters, either here or in America, are charged with refuſing the benefit of ſuch an officer to the church in that country. *Here* they ſeem to have naturally no concern in the affair. *There* they have no power to prevent it, if government ſhould think fit to ſend one. They would

would probably *diſlike*, indeed, to ſee an order of men eſtabliſhed among them, from whoſe perſecutions their fathers fled into that wilderneſs, and whoſe future domination they might poſſibly fear, *not knowing that their natures are changed.* —But the non-appointment of biſhops for *America* ſeems to ariſe from another quarter. The ſame wiſdom of government, probably, that prevents the ſitting of convocations, and forbids, by *noli proſequi's*, the perſecution of Diſſenters for non-ſubſcription; avoids eſtabliſhing biſhops where the minds of people are not yet prepared to receive them cordially, leſt the public peace ſhould be endangered.

And now let us ſee how this *perſecution-account* ſtands between the parties.

In *New England*, where the legiſlative bodies are almoſt to a man Diſſenters from the church of *England:*

1. There is no teſt to prevent churchmen holding offices.

2. The ſons of churchmen have the full benefit of the univerſities.

3. The taxes for ſupport of public worſhip, when paid by churchmen, are given to the epiſcopal miniſter.

In *Old England:*

1. Diſſenters are excluded from all offices of profit and honour.

2. The benefits of education in the univerſities are appropriated to the ſons of churchmen.

3. The

3. The clergy of the Diſſenters receive none of the tythes paid by their people, who muſt be at the additional charge of maintaining their own ſeparate worſhip.—

But it is ſaid, that the Diſſenters of *America oppoſe* the introduction of a biſhop.

In fact, it is not alone the Diſſenters there that give the oppoſition (if *not encouraging* muſt be termed *oppoſing*) but the laity in general diſlike the project, and ſome even of the clergy. The inhabitants of *Virginia* are almoſt all epiſcopalians, the church is fully eſtabliſhed there, and the council and general aſſembly are, perhaps to a man, its members: yet, when lately at a meeting of the clergy, a reſolution was taken to apply for a biſhop, againſt which ſeveral, however, proteſted; the aſſembly of the province, at the next meeting, expreſſed their diſapprobation of the thing in the ſtrongeſt manner, by unanimouſly ordering the thanks of the houſe to the proteſters; for many of the *American* laity of the church think it ſome advantage—whether their own young men come to *England* for ordination, and improve themſelves at the ſame time by converſation with the learned here,—or the congregations are ſupplied by *Engliſhmen* who have had the benefit of education in Engliſh univerſities, and are ordained before they came abroad. They do not, therefore, ſee the neceſſity of a biſhop merely for ordination; and confirmation is among them deemed a ceremony of no very great importance, ſince few

few ſeek it in *England*, where biſhops are in plenty.—Theſe ſentiments prevail with many churchmen there, not to promote a deſign which they think muſt ſooner or later ſaddle them with great expences to ſupport it.—As to the Diſſenters, their minds might probably be more conciliated to the meaſure if the biſhops here ſhould, in their wiſdom and goodneſs, think fit to ſet their ſacred character in a more friendly light, by dropping their oppoſition to the Diſſenters application for relief in ſubſcription; and declaring their willingneſs that Diſſenters ſhould be capable of offices, enjoy the benefit of education in the univerſities, and the privilege of appropriating their tythes to the ſupport of their own clergy. In all theſe points of toleration, they appear far behind the preſent Diſſenters of New England, and it may ſeem to ſome a ſtep below the dignity of biſhops, to follow the example of ſuch inferiors. I do not, however, deſpair of their doing it ſome time or other, ſince nothing of the kind is too hard for *true Chriſtian humility*.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

A NEW-ENGLAND-MAN †.

† [Dr. *Franklin* was born at *Boſton* in New England, and not at *Philadelphia*. E.]

II.

PAPERS

UPON

AMERICAN SUBJECTS

BEFORE

THE TROUBLES.

N. B. *All the Papers under this diviſion are diſtinguiſhed by the letters* [A: B.T.] *placed in the running title at the head of each leaf.*

II.

PAPERS

UPON

AMERICAN SUBJECTS

BEFORE

THE TROUBLES.

N. B. All the Papers under this Division are distinguished by the letter [A: B. T.] placed in the margin side at the end of each leaf.

ALBANY PAPERS.

Containing, I. *Reaſons and Motives on which the* PLAN of UNION for the COLONIES *was formed*;—II. *Reaſons againſt partial Unions*;—III. *And the Plan of Union drawn by* B. F. *and unanimouſly agreed to by the Commiſſioners from* New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's Bay, Rhode Iſland, New Jerſey, Maryland, *and* Penſylvania*, *met in Congreſs at* Albany, *in* July 1754, *to conſider*

* [The reader muſt be informed here, that this plan was intended for *all* the colonies; but, commiſſioners from ſome of them not attending, (from cauſes which I cannot ſpecify) their conſent to it was not, in this reſpect, univerſally expreſſed. Governor *Pownall*, however, ſays, 'That he had an opportunity of 'converſing with, and knowing the ſentiments of the commiſſioners' 'appointed by their reſpective provinces, to attend this congreſs, to which they were called by the crown;' 'of learning 'from their experience and judgment, the actual ſtate of the '*American* buſineſs and intereſt; and of hearing amongſt them, 'the grounds and reaſons of that *American* Union, which they 'then had under deliberation, and tranſmitted the plan of to *England*:' and, he adds, in another place, 'that the ſentiments 'of our colonies were collected in an authentic manner on this 'ſubject in the plan propoſed by Dr. *Franklin*, and unanimouſly 'agreed to in congreſs.' [See Governor *Pownall's Adminiſtration of the Britiſh Colonies*, Vol. I. p. 13. Edit. 4, 1774, and Vol. II. p. 86. E.]

of

of the beſt Means of defending the King's Dominions in America, *&c. a War being then apprehended; with the Reaſons or Motives for each Article of the Plan.*

B. F. was one of the four Commiſſioners from *Penſylvania* *.

I. *Reaſons and Motives on which the Plan of Union was formed.*

THE Commiſſioners from a number of the northern colonies being met at *Albany*, and conſidering the difficulties that have always attended the moſt neceſſary general meaſures for the common defence, or for the annoyance of the enemy, when they were to be carried through the ſeveral particular aſſemblies of all the colonies; ſome aſſemblies being before at variance with their governors or councils, and the ſeveral branches of the government not on terms of doing buſineſs with each other; others taking the opportunity, when their concurrence is wanted, to puſh for favourite laws, powers, or points that they think

* ['Mr. [ſince Governor] Hutchinſon was one of the commiſ-'ſioners for *Maſſachuſetts Bay*.' (Governor *Pownall* as above, Vol. II. p. 144.) '*Thomas Pownall*, Eſq; brother to *John Pow-'nall*, Eſq; one of the Secretaries to the Board of Trade, and 'afterwards Governor of the *Maſſachuſetts*, was upon the ſpot. (*Hiſtory of the Britiſh Empire in North America*, p. 25.) E.]

could

could not at other times be obtained, and ſo *creating* diſputes and quarrels; one aſſembly waiting to ſee what another will do, being afraid of doing more than its ſhare, or deſirous of doing leſs; or refuſing to do any thing, becauſe its country is not at preſent ſo much expoſed as others, or becauſe another will reap more immediate advantage; from one or other of which cauſes, the aſſemblies of ſix (out of ſeven) colonies applied to, had granted no aſſiſtance to *Virginia*, when lately invaded by the *French*, though purpoſely convened, and the importance of the occaſion earneſtly urged upon them: Conſidering moreover, that one principal encouragement to the French, in invading and inſulting the Britiſh American dominions, was their knowledge of our diſunited ſtate, and of our weakneſs ariſing from ſuch want of union; and that from hence different colonies were, at different times, extremely haraſſed, and put to great expence both of blood and treaſure, who would have remained in peace, if the enemy had had cauſe to fear the drawing on themſelves the reſentment and power of the whole; the ſaid Commiſſioners, conſidering alſo the preſent incroachments of the French, and the miſchievous conſequences that may be expected from them, if not oppoſed with our force, came to an unanimous reſolution,—*That an union of the colonies is abſolutely neceſſary for their preſervation.*

The *manner* of forming and eſtabliſhing this union was the next point. When it was conſidered that the colonies were ſeldom all in equal

danger at the ſame time, or equally near the danger, or equally ſenſible of it; that ſome of them had particular intereſts to manage, with which an union might interfere; and that they were extremely jealous of each other;—it was thought impracticable to obtain a joint agreement of all the colonies to an union, in which the expence and burthen of defending any of them ſhould be divided among them all; and if ever acts of aſſembly in all the colonies could be obtained for that purpoſe, yet as any colony, on the leaſt diſſatisfaction, might repeal its own act and thereby withdraw itſelf from the union, it would not be a ſtable one, or ſuch as could be depended on: for if only one colony ſhould, on any diſguſt withdraw itſelf, others might think it unjuſt and unequal that they, by continuing in the union, ſhould be at the expence of defending a colony which refuſed to bear its proportionable part, and would therefore one after another, withdraw, till the whole crumbled into its original parts.—Therefore the commiſſioners came to another previous reſolution, viz. *That it was neceſſary the union ſhould be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament.*

They then proceeded to ſketch out a *plan of union*, which they did in a plain and conciſe manner, juſt ſufficient to ſhew their ſentiments of the kind of union that would beſt ſuit the circumſtances of the colonies, be moſt agreeable to the people, and moſt effectually promote his Majeſty's ſervice and the general intereſt of

of the Britiſh empire.—This was reſpectfully ſent to the aſſemblies of the ſeveral colonies for their conſideration, and to receive ſuch alterations and improvements as they ſhould think fit and neceſſary; after which it was propoſed to be tranſmitted to *England* to be perfected, and the eſtabliſhment of it there humbly ſolicited.

This was as much as the commiſſioners could do‡. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *.

II. *Reaſons againſt partial Unions.*

It was propoſed by ſome of the Commiſſioners to form the colonies into two or three diſtinct unions; but for theſe reaſons that propoſal was dropped even by thoſe that made it; [*viz.*]

1. In all caſes where the ſtrength of the whole was neceſſary to be uſed againſt the enemy, there would be the ſame difficulty in degree, to bring the ſeveral unions to unite together, as now the ſeveral colonies; and conſequently the ſame delays on our part and advantage to the enemy.

2. Each union would ſeparately be weaker than when joined by the whole, obliged to exert more force, be more oppreſſed by the expence, and the enemy leſs deterred from attacking it.

3. Where particular colonies have *ſelfiſh views*, as New York with regard to Indian trade and

‡ [Dr. *Davenant* was ſo well convinced of the expediency of an union of the colonies, that he recites, at full length, a plan contrived, as he ſays, with good judgment for the purpoſe. *Davenant*, Vol. I. p. 40, 41, of Sir *C. Whitworth*'s Edition. E.]

lands;

lands; or are *leſs expoſed*, being covered by others, as New Jerſey, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, Maryland; or have *particular whims and prejudices* againſt warlike meaſures in general, as Penſylvania, where the Quakers predominate; ſuch colonies would have more weight in a partial union, and be better able to oppoſe and obſtruct the meaſures neceſſary for the general good, than where they are ſwallowed up in the general union.

4. The *Indian* trade would be better regulated by the union of the whole than by partial unions. And as *Canada* is chiefly ſupported by that trade, if it could be drawn into the hands of the *Engliſh*, (as it might be if the Indians were ſupplied on moderate terms, and by honeſt traders appointed by and acting for the public) that alone would contribute greatly to the weakening of our enemies.

5. The eſtabliſhing of new colonies weſtward on the *Ohio* and the lakes, (a matter of conſiderable importance to the increaſe of *Britiſh* trade and power, to the breaking that of the *French*, and to the protection and ſecurity of our preſent colonies,) would beſt be carried on by a joint union.

6. It was alſo thought, that by the frequent meetings-together of commiſſioners or repreſentatives from all the colonies, the circumſtances of the whole would be better known, and the good of the whole better provided for; and that the colonies would by this connection learn to conſider themſelves, not as ſo many independent

dent ſtates, but as members of the ſame body; and thence be more ready to afford aſſiſtance and ſupport to each other, and to make diverſions in favour even of the moſt diſtant, and to join cordially in any expedition for the benefit of all againſt the common enemy.

Theſe were the principal reaſons and motives for forming the plan of union as it ſtands. To which may be added this, that as the union of the

* *

The remainder of this article is loſt.

III. *Plan of a propoſed Union of the ſeveral Colonies of* Maſſachuſſett's Bay, New Hampſhire, Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, *and* South Carolina *for their mutual Defence and Security, and for extending the* Britiſh *Settlements in* North America, *with the Reaſons and Motives for each Article of the Plan* [*as far as could be remembered.*]

It is propoſed.—That humble application be made for an act of parliament of *Great Britain*, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in *America*

America including all the ſaid colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its preſent conſtitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the ſaid act as hereafter follows *.

Preſident General, and Grand Council.

That the ſaid general government be adminiſtered by a Preſident General to be appointed and ſupported by the crown; and a Grand Council to be choſen by the repreſentatives of the people of the ſeveral colonies met in their reſpective aſſemblies.

It was thought that it would be beſt the Preſident General ſhould be ſupported as well as appointed by the crown; that ſo all diſputes between him and the Grand Council concerning his ſalary might be prevented; as ſuch diſputes have been frequently of miſchievous conſequence in particular colonies, eſpecially in time of public danger. The quit-rents of crown-lands in America, might in a ſhort time be ſuf-

* [The reader may perceive, by the difference of the type, which is the text of the plan, and which the *reaſons and motives* mentioned in the title. They are thus conſolidated for his convenience. The Editor has taken one or two farther liberties in *tranſpoſing* theſe *Albany* papers; but the ſenſe remains as before. E.]

ficient

ficient for this purpoſe.—The choice of members for the grand council is placed in the houſe of repreſentatives of each government, in order to give the people a ſhare in this new general government, as the crown has its ſhare by the appointment of the Preſident General.

But it being propoſed by the gentlemen of the council of *New York*, and ſome other counſellors among the commiſſioners, to alter the plan in this particular, and to give the governors and council of the ſeveral provinces a ſhare in the choice of the grand council, or at leaſt a power of approving and confirming or of diſallowing the choice made by the houſe of repreſentatives, it was ſaid:

"That the government or conſtitution propoſed to be formed by the plan, conſiſts of two branches; a Preſident General appointed by the crown, and a council choſen by the people, or by the people's repreſentatives, which is the ſame thing.

"That by a ſubſequent article, the council choſen by the people can effect nothing without the conſent of the Preſident General appointed by the crown; the crown poſſeſſes therefore full one half of the power of this conſtitution.

"That in the Britiſh conſtitution, the crown is ſuppoſed to poſſeſs but one third, the Lords having their ſhare.

"That this conſtitution ſeemed rather more favourable for the crown.

"That

" That it is eſſential to Engliſh liberty, [that] " the ſubject ſhould not be taxed but by his own " conſent or the conſent of his elected repre- " ſentatives.

" That taxes to be laid and levied by this " propoſed conſtitution will be propoſed and " agreed to by the repreſentatives of the peo- " ple, if the plan in this particular be preſerved:

" But if the propoſed alteration ſhould take " place, it ſeemed as if matters may be ſo ma- " naged as that the crown ſhall finally have the " appointment not only of the Preſident Ge- " neral, but of a majority of the grand council; " for, ſeven out of eleven governors and coun- " cils are appointed by the crown:

" And ſo the people in all the colonies would " in effect be taxed by their governors.

" It was therefore apprehended that ſuch al- " terations of the plan would give great diſ- " ſatisfaction, and that the colonies could not " be eaſy under ſuch a power in governors, and " ſuch an infringement of what they take to be " *Engliſh* liberty.

" Beſides, the giving a ſhare in the choice of " the grand council would not be equal with re- " ſpect to all the colonies, as their conſtitutions " differ. In ſome, both governor and council " are appointed by the crown. In others, they " are both appointed by the proprietors. In " ſome, the people have a ſhare in the choice of " the council; in others, both government and " council are wholly choſen by the people. But

" the

" the houſe of repreſentatives is every where
" choſen by the people; and therefore placing the
" right of chooſing the grand council in the
" repreſentatives, is equal with reſpect to all.

" That the grand council is intended to re-
" preſent all the ſeveral houſes of repreſenta-
" tives of the colonies, as a houſe of repre-
" ſentatives doth the ſeveral towns or counties
" of a colony. Could all the people of a colo-
" ny be conſulted and unite in public meaſures,
" a houſe of repreſentatives would be needleſs:
" and could all the aſſemblies conveniently con-
" ſult and unite in general meaſures, the grand
" council would be unneceſſary.

" That a houſe of commons or the houſe of
" repreſentatives, and the grand council, are thus
" alike in their nature and intention. And as
" it would ſeem improper that the King or houſe
" of Lords ſhould have a power of diſallow-
" ing or appointing members of the houſe of
" commons;—ſo likewiſe that a governor and
" council appointed by the crown ſhould have a
" power of diſallowing or appointing mem-
" bers of the grand council, (who, in this con-
" ſtitution, are to be the repreſentatives of the
" people.)

" If the governors and councils therefore
" were to have a ſhare in the choice of any
" that are to conduct this general government,
" it ſhould ſeem more proper that they choſe
" the Preſident General. But this being an of-
" fice of great truſt and importance to the na-

" tion, it was thought better to be filled by the " immediate appointment of the crown.

" The power propoſed to be given by the plan " to the grand council is only a concentration of " the powers of the ſeveral aſſemblies in certain " points for the general welfare; as the power of " the Preſident General is of the powers of the " ſeveral governors in the ſame points.

" And as the choice therefore of the grand " council by the repreſentatives of the people, " neither gives the people any new powers, nor " diminiſhes the power of the crown, it was " thought and hoped the crown would not diſ- " approve of it."

Upon the whole, the commiſſioners were of opinion, that the choice was moſt properly placed in the repreſentatives of the people.

Election of Members.

That within months after the paſſing ſuch act, the houſe of repreſentatives that happen to be ſitting within that time, or that ſhall be eſpecially for that purpoſe convened, may and ſhall chooſe members for the grand council, in the following proportion, that is to ſay,

Maſſachuſett's

Maſſachuſſett's Bay - - -	7
New Hampſhire - - - -	2
Connecticut - - - - - -	5
Rhode Iſland - - - - -	2
New York - - - - - -	4
New Jerſeys - - - - - -	3
Penſylvania - - - - - -	6
Maryland - - - - - -	4
Virginia - - - - - - -	7
North Carolina - - - -	4
South Carolina - - - -	4
	48

It was thought that if the leaſt colony was allowed two, and the others in proportion, the number would be very great and the expence heavy; and that leſs than two would not be convenient, as a ſingle perſon, being by any accident prevented appearing at the meeting, the colony he ought to appear for would not be repreſented. That as the choice was not immediately popular, they would be generally men of good abilities for buſineſs, and men of reputation for integrity; and that forty-eight ſuch men might be a number ſufficient. But, though it was thought reaſonable that each colony ſhould have a ſhare in the repreſentative body in ſome degree, according to the proportion it contributed to the general treaſury; yet the proportion of wealth or power of the colonies is not

to be judged by the proportion here fixed; becauſe it was at firſt agreed that the greateſt colony ſhould not have more than ſeven members, nor the leaſt leſs than two: and the ſettling theſe proportions between theſe two extremes was not nicely attended to, as it would find itſelf, after the firſt election from the ſums brought into the treaſury, as by a ſubſequent article.

Place of firſt Meeting.

—who ſhall meet for the firſt time at the city of *Philadelphia* in Penſylvania, being called by the Preſident General as ſoon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

Philadelphia was named as being the nearer the center of the colonies, where the Commiſſioners would be well and cheaply accommodated. The high-roads through the whole extent, are for the moſt part very good, in which forty or fifty miles a day may very well be and frequently are travelled. Great part of the way may likewiſe be gone by water.—In ſummer-time the paſſages are frequently performed in a week from *Charles Town* to Philadelphia and New York; and from *Rhode Iſland* to New York through the Sound in two or three days; and from *New York* to Philadelphia by water and land in two days, by ſtage-boats and wheel-carriages that ſet out every other day. The journey from *Charles Town* to Philadelphia may

may likewiſe be facilitated by boats running up Cheſapeak Bay three hundred miles.—But if the whole journey be performed on horſeback, the moſt diſtant members, *(viz.* the two from *New Hampſhire* and from *South Carolina)* may probably render themſelves at Philadelphia in fifteen or twenty-days;—the majority may be there in much leſs time.

New Election.

That there ſhall be a new election of the members of the Grand Council every three years; and on the death or reſignation of any member, his place ſhall be ſupplied by a new choice at the next ſitting of the aſſembly of the colony he repreſented.

Some colonies have annual aſſemblies, ſome continue during a governor's pleaſure; three years was thought a reaſonable medium, as affording a new member time to improve himſelf in the buſineſs, and to act after ſuch improvement; and yet giving opportunities, frequent enough, to change him if he has miſbehaved.

Proportion of Members after the firſt three Years.

That after the firſt three years, when the proportion of money ariſing out of

each colony to the general treaſury can be known, the number of members to be choſen for each colony ſhall from time to time, in all enſuing elections, be regulated by that proportion (yet ſo as that the number to be choſen by any one province be not more than ſeven, nor leſs than two).

By a ſubſequent article it is propoſed, that the general council ſhall lay and levy ſuch general duties as to them may appear moſt equal and leaſt burthenſome, &c. Suppoſe, for inſtance, they lay a ſmall duty or exciſe on ſome commodity imported into or made in the colonies, and pretty generally and equally uſed in all of them; as rum perhaps, or wine: the yearly produce of this duty or exciſe, if fairly collected, would be in ſome colonies greater, in others leſs, as the colonies are greater or ſmaller. When the collectors accounts are brought in, the proportions will appear; and from them it is propoſed to regulate the proportion of repreſentatives to be choſen at the next general election, within the limits however of ſeven and two. Theſe numbers may therefore vary in courſe of years, as the colonies may in the growth and increaſe of people. And thus the quota of tax from each colony would naturally vary with its circumſtances; thereby preventing all diſputes and diſſatisfactions about the juſt proportions due from

from each; which might otherwiſe produce pernicious conſequences, and deſtroy the harmony and good agreement that ought to ſubſiſt between the ſeveral parts of the union.

Meetings of the Grand Council, and Call.

That the Grand Council ſhall meet once in every year and oftener if occaſion require, at ſuch time and place as they ſhall adjourn to at the laſt preceding meeting, or as they ſhall be called to meet at by the Preſident General on any emergency; he having firſt obtained in writing the conſent of ſeven of the members to ſuch call, and ſent due and timely notice to the whole.

It was thought, in eſtabliſhing and governing new colonies or ſettlements, regulating *Indian* trade, *Indian* treaties, &c. there would be every year ſufficient buſineſs ariſe to require at leaſt one meeting, and at ſuch meeting many things might be ſuggeſted for the benefit of all the colonies. This annual meeting may either be at a time or place certain, to be fixed by the Preſident General and grand council at their firſt meeting; or left at liberty, to be at ſuch time and place as they ſhall adjourn to, or be called to meet at by the Preſident General.

In *time of war* it ſeems convenient, that the meeting ſhould be in that colony, which is neareſt the ſeat of action.

The power of calling them on any emergency ſeemed neceſſary to be veſted in the Preſident General; but that ſuch power might not be wantonly uſed to haraſs the members, and oblige them to make frequent long journies to little purpoſe, the conſent of ſeven at leaſt to ſuch call was ſuppoſed a convenient guard.

Continuance.

That the Grand Council have power to chooſe their ſpeaker; and ſhall neither be diſſolved, prorogued, nor continued ſitting longer than ſix weeks at one time; without their own conſent or the ſpecial command of the crown.

The ſpeaker ſhould be preſented for approbation; it being convenient, to prevent miſunderſtandings and diſguſts, that the mouth of the council ſhould be a perſon agreeable, if poſſible, both to the council and Preſident General.

Governors have ſometimes wantonly exerciſed the power of proroguing or continuing the ſeſſions of aſſemblies, merely to haraſs the members and compel a compliance; and ſometimes diſſolve them on ſlight diſguſts. This it was feared might be done by the Preſident General, if not provided

againſt: and the inconvenience and hardſhip would be greater in the general government than in particular colonies, in proportion to the diſtance the members muſt be from home, during ſittings, and the long journies ſome of them muſt neceſſarily take.

Members' Allowance.

That the members of the Grand Council ſhall be allowed for their ſervice ten ſhillings ſterling *per diem*, during their ſeſſion and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

It was thought proper to allow *ſome* wages, leſt the expence might deter ſome ſuitable perſons from the ſervice; — and not to allow *too great* wages, leſt unſuitable perſons ſhould be tempted to cabal for the employment for the ſake of gain.— Twenty miles was ſet down as a day's journey to allow for accidental hinderances on the road, and the greater expences of travelling than reſiding at the place of meeting.

Aſſent of Preſident General and his Duty.

That the aſſent of the Preſident General be requiſite to all acts of the Grand

Council; and that it be his office and duty to cauſe them to be carried into execution.

The aſſent of the Preſident General to all acts of the grand council was made neceſſary, in order to give the crown its due ſhare of influence in this government, and connect it with that of *Great Britain*. The Preſident General, beſides one half of the legiſlative power, hath in his hands the whole executive power.

Power of Preſident General and Grand Council. Treaties of Peace and War.

That the Preſident General, with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all *Indian* treaties in which the general intereſt of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations.

The power of making peace or war with *Indian* nations is at preſent ſuppoſed to be in every colony, and is expreſsly granted to ſome by charter, ſo that no new power is hereby intended to be granted to the colonies.—But as, in conſequence of this power, one colony might make peace with a nation that another was juſtly engaged in war with; or make war on ſlight occaſions without

without the concurrence or approbation of neighbouring colonies, greatly endangered by it; or make particular treaties of neutrality in caſe of a general war, to their own private advantage in trade, by ſupplying the common enemy; of all which there have been inſtances—it was thought better to have all treaties of a general nature under a general direction; that ſo the good of the whole may be conſulted and provided for.

Indian Trade.

That they make ſuch laws as they judge neceſſary for regulating all Indian trade.

Many quarrels and wars have ariſen between the colonies and Indian nations, through the bad conduct of traders; who cheat the Indians after making them drunk, &c. to the great expence of the colonies both in blood and treaſure. Particular colonies are ſo intereſted in the trade as not to be willing to admit ſuch a regulation as might be beſt for the whole; and therefore it was thought beſt under a general direction.

Indian Purchaſes.

That they make all purchaſes from Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies or that ſhall not be within their bounds when

when ſome of them are reduced to more convenient dimenſions.

Purchaſes from the Indians made by private perſons, have been attended with many inconveniences. They have frequently interfered, and occaſioned uncertainty of titles, many diſputes and expenſive law-ſuits, and hindered the ſettlement of the land ſo diſputed. Then the Indians have been cheated by ſuch private purchaſes, and diſcontent and wars have been the conſequence. Theſe would be prevented by public fair purchaſes.

Several of the colony charters in America extend their bounds to the *South Sea*, which may be perhaps three or four thouſand miles in length to one or two hundred miles in breadth. It is ſuppoſed they muſt in time be reduced to dimenſions more convenient for the common purpoſes of government *.

Very

* [Mr. Baron *M*———, in page 200 of his account of the *Proceedings at* Quebec, *for obtaining an Aſſembly*, has the following hint: 'The vaſt enlargement of the province [of *Quebec*] by adding 'to it a new territory that contains, according to Lord *Hillſborough*'s eſtimation of it, five hundred and eleven millions of acres, '(that is, more land than *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany* put 'together, and moſt of it good land) is a meaſure that would 'require an ample diſcuſſion.'——That the reader may not ſuſpect that *theſe dimenſions were convenient for* uncommon *purpoſes of government*, I ſhall quote the motives aſſigned upon this occaſion by the act regulating the government of *Quebec*. 'By the arrangements made by the royal proclamation, a very large extent 'of [outlying] country, within which there were ſeveral colonies 'and ſettlements of the ſubjects of *France*, who claimed to remain 'therein

Very little of the land in thoſe grants is yet purchaſed of the Indians.

It is much cheaper to purchaſe of them, than to take and maintain the poſſeſſion by force: for they are generally very reaſonable in their demands for land *; and the expence of guarding a large frontier againſt their incurſions is vaſtly great; becauſe all muſt be guarded and always

' therein under the faith of the ſaid treaty, was left without any ' proviſion being made for the adminiſtration of civil government ' therein:' *i. e.* a few *Indian* traders were a pretext for this appropriation of a tract of country, which according to the *miniſter*'s eſtimate, was more than 13 times larger than *England* and *Wales* united, nearly 128 times larger than *Jamaica*, almoſt $\frac{1}{6}$ part of *Europe*, and conſiderably more than $\frac{1}{38}$ part of the whole habitable earth, (comparing it with the ſeveral calculations in *The Political Survey of Great Britain* by Dr. *Campbell*, and in that of *Jamaica* by Mr. *Long*.) ' Now *all* the inhabitants of the pro- ' vince of *Quebec*, ſays this very act, amounted at the conqueſt ' to above ſixty-five thouſand [only,] profeſſing the religion of the ' church of *Rome*, and enjoying an eſtabliſhed form of conſtitu- ' tion and ſyſtem of laws.' E.]

* [' Dr. Franklin, *(ſays Mr. Kalm the Swede,)* and ſeveral other ' gentlemen, frequently told me, that a powerful Indian, who poſ- ' ſeſſed *Rhode Iſland*, had ſold it to the *Engliſh* for a pair of ſpecta- ' cles: it is large enough for a prince's domain, and makes a pecu- ' liar government at preſent. This Indian knew [how] to ſet a true ' value upon a pair of ſpectacles: for undoubtedly if thoſe glaſſes ' were not ſo plentiful, and only a few of them could be found, ' they would, on account of their great uſe, bear the ſame price ' with diamonds.' See *Kalm's Travels into North America*, Vol. I. p. 386, 387. ' At the time when the *Swedes* firſt arrived, they ' bought land at a very inconſiderable price. For a piece of baize, ' or a pot full of brandy, or the like, they could get a piece of ' ground, which at preſent would be worth more than 290*l. ſterling*. Ib. Vol. II. p. 118.—The truth is, that the Indians conſidered their lands as mere *hunting-manors*, and not as farms. E.]

guarded,

guarded, as we know not where or when *to expect them* †.

New Settlements.

That they make new ſettlements on ſuch purchaſes by granting lands in the King's name, reſerving a quit-rent to the crown for the uſe of the general treaſury.

It is ſuppoſed better that there ſhould be one purchaſer than many; and that the crown ſhould be that purchaſer, or the union in the name of the crown. By this means the bargains may be more eaſily made, the price not inhanced by numerous bidders, future diſputes about private Indian purchaſes, and monopolies of vaſt tracts to particular perſons (which are prejudicial to the ſettlement and peopling of a country) prevented; and the land being again granted in ſmall tracts to the ſettlers, the quit-

† [To guard againſt the incurſions of the *Indians*, a plan was ſent over to *America* (and, as I think, by authority,) ſuggeſting the expediency of clearing away the woods and buſhes from a tract of land, a mile in breadth, and extending along the back of the colonies. Unfortunately, beſides the large expence of this undertaking (which, if one acre coſt 2*l. ſterling*, and 640 acres make a ſquare mile, is 128,000*l. firſt coſt* for every 100 miles;) it was forgotten that the Indians, like other people, knew the difference between day and night, and that a mile of advance and another of retreat, were nothing to the celerity of ſuch an enemy.—This plan, it is ſaid, was the work of Dean *T-ck-r*; and poſſibly might contain many other particulars. The plans of Doctor *Franklin* and Governor *Pownall* appear much more feaſible. E.]

rents

rents reſerved may in time become a fund for ſupport of government, for defence of the country, eaſe of taxes, &c.

Strong forts on the lakes, the Ohio, &c. may at the ſame time they ſecure our preſent frontiers, ſerve to defend new colonies ſettled under their protection; and ſuch colonies would alſo mutually defend and ſupport ſuch forts, and better ſecure the friendſhip of the far Indians.

A particular colony has ſcarce ſtrength enough to extend itſelf by new ſettlements, at ſo great a diſtance from the old: but the joint force of the union might ſuddenly eſtabliſh a new colony or two in thoſe parts, or extend an old colony to particular paſſes, greatly to the ſecurity of our preſent frontiers, increaſe of trade and people, breaking off the French communication between *Canada* and *Louiſiana*, and ſpeedy ſettlement of the intermediate lands.

The power of ſettling new colonies is therefore thought a valuable part of the plan; and what cannot ſo well be executed by two unions as by one.

Laws to govern them.

That they make laws for regulating and governing ſuch new ſettlements, till the crown ſhall think fit to form them into particular governments.

The

The making of laws ſuitable for the new colonies, it was thought would be properly veſted in the Preſident General and grand council; under whoſe protection they will at firſt neceſſarily be, and who would be well acquainted with their circumſtances, as having ſettled them. When they are become ſufficiently populous, they may by the crown, be formed into compleat and diſtinct governments.

The appointment of a Sub-preſident by the crown, to take place in caſe of the death or abſence of the Preſident General, would perhaps be an improvement of the plan; and if all the governors of particular provinces were to be formed into a ſtanding council of ſtate, for the advice and aſſiſtance of the Preſident General, it might be another conſiderable improvement.

Raiſe Soldiers and equip Veſſels, &c.

That they raiſe and pay ſoldiers and build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip veſſels of force to guard the coaſts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes *, or great rivers; but they ſhall not impreſs men in any colony without the conſent of the legiſlature.

* ['According to a plan which had been propoſed by Governor 'Pownall, and approved of by congreſs.'—(Adminiſtration of the colonies, Vol, II. p. 148. E.]

It

It was thought, that quotas of men to be raiſed and paid by the ſeveral colonies, and joined for any public ſervice, could not always be got together with the neceſſary expedition. For inſtance, ſuppoſe one thouſand men ſhould be wanted in *New Hampſhire* on any emergency; to fetch them by fifties and hundreds out of every colony as far as *South Carolina*, would be inconvenient, the tranſportation chargeable, and the occaſion perhaps paſſed before they could be aſſembled; and therefore that it would be beſt to raiſe them (by offering bounty-money and pay) near the place where they would be wanted, to be diſcharged again when the ſervice ſhould be over.

Particular colonies are at preſent backward to build forts at their own expence, which they ſay will be equally uſeful to their neighbouring colonies; who refuſe to join, on a preſumption that ſuch forts *will* be built and kept up, though they contribute nothing. This unjuſt conduct weakens the whole; but the forts being for the good of the whole, it was thought beſt they ſhould be built and maintained by the whole, out of the common treaſury.

In the time of war, ſmall veſſels of force are ſometimes neceſſary in the colonies to ſcour the coaſt of ſmall privateers. Theſe being provided by the Union, will be an advantage in turn to the colonies which are ſituated on the ſea, and whoſe frontiers on the land-ſide, being covered by other colonies, reap but little immediate benefit from the advanced forts.

Power

Power to make Laws, lay Duties, &c.

That for theſe purpoſes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy ſuch general duties, imports, or taxes, as to them ſhall appear moſt equal and juſt, (conſidering the ability and other circumſtances of the inhabitants in the ſeveral colonies,) and ſuch as may be collected with the leaſt inconvenience to the people; rather diſcouraging luxury, than loading induſtry with unneceſſary burthens.

The laws which the Preſident General and grand council are impowered to make, *are ſuch only* as ſhall be neceſſary for the government of the ſettlements; the raiſing, regulating and paying ſoldiers for the general ſervice; the regulating of Indian trade; and laying and collecting the general duties and taxes. (They ſhould alſo have a power to reſtrain the exportation of proviſions to the enemy from any of the colonies, on particular occaſions, in time of war.) But is it not intended that they may interfere with the conſtitution and government of the particular colonies; who are to be left to their own laws, and to lay, levy, and apply their own taxes as before.

General Treaſurer and Particular Treaſurer.

That they may appoint a General Treaſurer and Particular Treaſurer in each government when neceſſary; and from time to time may order the ſums in the treaſuries of each government into the general treaſury; or draw on them for ſpecial payments, as they find moſt convenient.

The treaſurers here meant are only for the general funds; and not for the particular funds of each colony, which remain in the hands of their own treaſurers at their own diſpoſal.

Money how to iſſue.

Yet no money to iſſue but by joint orders of the Preſident General and Grand Council; except where ſums have been appropriated to particular purpoſes, and the Preſident General is previouſly impowered by an act to draw for ſuch ſums.

To prevent miſapplication of the money, or even application that might be diſſatisfactory to the crown or the people, it was thought neceſſary

to join the Preſident General and grand council in all iſſues of money.

Accounts.

That the general Accounts ſhall be yearly ſettled and reported to the ſeveral aſſemblies.

By communicating the accounts yearly to each aſſembly, they will be ſatisfied of the prudent and honeſt conduct of their repreſentatives in the grand council.

Quorum.

That a quorum of the Grand Council impowered to act with the Preſident General, do conſiſt of twenty-five members; among whom there ſhall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.

The quorum ſeems large, but it was thought it would not be ſatisfactory to the colonies in general, to have matters of importance to the whole tranſacted by a ſmaller number, or even by this number of twenty-five, unleſs there were among them one at leaſt from a majority of the colonies; becauſe otherwiſe the whole quorum being made up of members from three or four colonies at one

end of the union, ſomething might be done that would not be equal with reſpect to the reſt, and thence diſſatisfactions and diſcords might riſe to the prejudice of the whole.

Laws to be tranſmitted.

That the laws made by them for the purpoſes aforeſaid ſhall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of *England*, and ſhall be tranſmitted to the King in council for approbation as ſoon as may be after their paſſing; and if not diſapproved within three years after preſentation, to remain in force.

This was thought neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of the crown, to preſerve the connection of the parts of the *Britiſh* empire with the whole, of the members with the head, and to induce greater care and circumſpection in making of the laws, that they be good in themſelves and for the general benefit.

Death of the Preſident General.

That in caſe of the death of the Preſident General, the ſpeaker of the Grand Council for the time being ſhall ſucceed, and be

veſted with the ſame powers and authorities, to continue till the King's pleaſure be known.

It might be better, perhaps, as was ſaid before, if the crown appointed a Vice Preſident, to take place on the death or abſence of the Preſident General; for ſo we ſhould be more ſure of a ſuitable perſon at the head of the colonies. On the death or abſence of both, the ſpeaker to take place (or rather the eldeſt King's-governor) till his Majeſty's pleaſure be known.

Officers how appointed.

That all military commiſſion officers, whether for land or ſea ſervice, to act under this general conſtitution, ſhall be nominated by the Preſident General; but the approbation of the Grand Council is to be obtained, before they receive their commiſſions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the Grand Council, and to receive the Preſident General's approbation before they officiate.

It was thought it might be very prejudicial to the ſervice, to have officers appointed unknown to the people, or unacceptable; the generality of Ame-

Americans ſerving willingly under officers they know; and not caring to engage in the ſervice under ſtrangers, or ſuch as are often appointed by governors through favour or intereſt. The ſervice here meant, is not the ſtated ſettled ſervice in ſtanding troops; but any ſudden and ſhort ſervice, either for defence of our own colonies, or invading the enemies country; (ſuch as, the expedition to *Cape Breton* in the laſt war; in which many ſubſtantial farmers and tradeſmen engaged as common ſoldiers under officers of their own country, for whom they had an eſteem and affection; who would not have engaged in a ſtanding army, or under officers from England.) — It was therefore thought beſt to give the council the power of approving the officers, which the people will look upon as a great ſecurity of their being good men. And without ſome ſuch proviſion as this, it was thought the expence of engaging men in the ſervice on any emergency would be much greater, and the number who could be induced to engage much leſs; and that therefore it would be moſt for the King's ſervice and general benefit of the nation, that the prerogative ſhould relax a little in this particular throughout all the colonies in America; as it had already done much more in the charters of ſome particular colonies, viz. *Connecticut* and *Rhode Iſland.*

The civil officers will be chiefly treaſurers and collectors of taxes; and the ſuitable perſons are moſt likely to be known by the council.

Vacancies how ſupplied.

But in caſe of vacancy by death, or removal of any officer civil or military under this conſtitution, the governor of the province in which ſuch vacancy happens, may appoint till the pleaſure of the Preſident General and Grand Council can be known.

The vacancies were thought beſt ſupplied by the governors in each province, till a new appointment can be regularly made; otherwiſe the ſervice might ſuffer before the meeting of the Preſident General and grand council.

Each Colony may defend itſelf on Emergency, &c.

That the particular military as well as civil eſtabliſhments in each colony remain in their preſent ſtate, the general conſtitution notwithſtanding; and that on ſudden emergencies any colony may defend itſelf and lay the accounts of expence thence ariſing before the Preſident General and general council, who may allow and order pay-

payment of the ſame as far as they judge ſuch accounts juſt and reaſonable.

Otherwiſe the Union of the whole would weaken the parts, contrary to the deſign of the union. The accounts are to be judged of by the Preſident General and grand council, and allowed if found reaſonable: this was thought neceſſary to encourage colonies to defend themſelves, as the expence would be light when borne by the whole; and alſo to check imprudent and laviſh expence in ſuch defences ‡.

‡ [This plan of union, it will appear from the next page, was rejected; and another propoſed to be ſubſtituted by the Engliſh miniſter, which had for its chief object, the taking power from the *people* in the colonies in order to give it to the *crown*. E.]

I. LETTER *to Governor* Shirley, *concerning the Impoſition of direct Taxes upon the Colonies, without their Conſent* *.

SIR, *Tueſday Morning.*

I return you the looſe ſheets of the plan, with thanks to your Excellency for communicating them.

I Apprehend, that excluding the *people* of the colonies from all ſhare in the choice of the grand council, will give extreme diſſatisfaction; as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where

* [Theſe letters to Governor Shirley firſt appeared in the *London Chronicle* for *Feb.* 6—8, 1766, with an introduction ſigned *A Lover of Britain.* In the beginning of the year 1776, they were republiſhed in *Almon's Remembrancer*, with an additional prefatory piece, under the ſignature of *A Mourner over our Calamities.*— I ſhall explain the ſubject of them in the words of one of theſe writers. 'The *Albany Plan of Union* was ſent to the government 'here for approbation: had it been approved and eſtabliſhed 'by authority from hence, *Engliſh America* thought itſelf ſuf- 'ficiently able to cope with the *French*, without other aſſiſtance; 'ſeveral of the colonies having alone, in former wars, withſtood 'the whole power of the enemy, unaſſiſted not only by the mother- 'country, but by any of the neighbouring provinces.—The plan, 'however, was not approved here; but a *New one* was formed 'inſtead of it; by which it was propoſed, that "the governors "of all the colonies, attended by one or two members of their "reſpective councils, ſhould aſſemble, and concert meaſures for "the

where they have no repreſentation. It is very poſſible, that this general government might be as well and faithfully adminiſtered without the people, as with them; but where heavy burdens are to be laid upon them, it has been found uſeful to make it, as much as poſſible, their own act; for they bear better, when they have, or think they have ſome ſhare in the direction; and when any public meaſures are generally grievous or even diſtaſteful, to the people, the wheels of government move more heavily.

" the defence of the whole, erect forts where they judged proper, " and raiſe what troops they thought neceſſary, with power to " draw on the treaſury here for the ſums that ſhould be wanted, " and the treaſury to be reimburſed by *a tax laid on the colonies* " *by act of parliament.*"—This *New plan* being communicated by ' Governor Shirley to a gentleman of Philadelphia, (Dr. *Franklin*) ' then in Boſton (who hath very eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf, ' before and ſince that time, in the literary world, and whoſe ' judgment, penetration and candor, as well as his readineſs and ' ability to ſuggeſt, forward, or carry into execution, every ' ſcheme of public utility, hath moſt deſervedly endeared him, not ' only to our fellow-ſubjects throughout the continent of North ' America, but to his numberleſs friends on this ſide the Atlantic) ' occaſioned the following remarks from him, which perhaps ' may contribute in ſome degree to its being laid aſide. As they ' very particularly ſhew the then ſentiments of the Americans ' on the ſubject of a parliamentary tax, *before* the *French* power ' in that country was ſubjected, and *before* the late reſtraints on ' their commerce; they ſatisfy me, and I hope they will convince ' your readers (contrary to what has been advanced by ſome of ' your correſpondents) that thoſe particulars have had no ſhare ' in producing the preſent oppoſition to ſuch a tax, nor in diſtur- ' bances occaſioned by it, which theſe papers indeed do almoſt ' prophetically foretel. For this purpoſe, having accidentally ' fallen into my hands, they are communicated to you by one who ' is, not *partially*, but in *the moſt enlarged ſenſe*,

' A Lover of Britain.' E.]

II. Let-

II. LETTER *to the ſame; concerning direct Taxes in the Colonies impoſed without Conſent, indirect Taxes, and the* Albany *Plan of Union.*

SIR, *Wedneſday Morning.*

I Mentioned it yeſterday to your Excellency as my opinion, that excluding the *people* of the colonies from all ſhare in the choice of the grand council, would probably give extreme diſſatisfaction, as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where they have no repreſentation. In matters of general concern to the people, and eſpecially where burdens are to be laid upon them; it is of uſe to conſider, as well what they will be apt to think and ſay, as what they ought to think: I ſhall therefore, as your Excellency requires it of me, briefly mention what of either kind occurs to me on this occaſion.

Firſt, they will ſay, and perhaps with juſtice, that the body of the people in the colonies are as loyal, and as firmly attached to the preſent conſtitution, and reigning family, as any ſubjects in the King's dominions.

That there is no reaſon to doubt the readineſs and willingneſs of the repreſentatives they may chooſe, to grant from time to time ſuch ſupplies for the defence of the country, as ſhall be judged neceſſary, ſo far as their abilities will allow.

That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate miſchiefs of invaſion and con-

queſt by an enemy, in the loſs of their eſtates, lives, and liberties; are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces neceſſary to be raiſed and maintained, forts to be built and ſupported, and of their own abilities to bear the expence; than the parliament of England, at ſo great a diſtance.

That governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain; are not always men of the beſt abilities or integrity; have many of them no eſtates here, nor any natural connections with us, that ſhould make them heartily concerned for our welfare; and might poſſibly be fond of raiſing and keeping up more forces than neceſſary, from the profits accruing to themſelves, and to make proviſion for their friends and dependents.

That the counſellors in moſt of the colonies, being appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of governors, are often perſons of ſmall eſtates, frequently dependent on the governors for offices, and therefore too much under influence.

That there is therefore great reaſon to be jealous of a power in ſuch governors and councils, to raiſe ſuch ſums as they ſhall judge neceſſary by drafts on the Lords of the Treaſury, to be afterwards laid on the colonies by act of parliament, and paid by the people here; ſince they might abuſe it, by projecting uſeleſs expeditions, haraſſing the people, and taking them from their labour to execute ſuch projects, merely to create offices and employments, and gratify their dependents, and divide profits.

That

That the parliament of England is at a great diſtance, ſubject to be miſinformed and miſled by ſuch governors and councils, whoſe united intereſts might probably ſecure them againſt the effect of any complaint from hence.

That it is ſuppoſed an undoubted right of *Engliſhmen*, not to be taxed but by their own conſent, given through their repreſentatives:

That the colonies have no repreſentatives in parliament.

That to propoſe taxing them by parliament, and refuſe them the liberty of chooſing a repreſentative council, to meet in the colonies, and conſider and judge of the neceſſity of any general tax, and the quantum; ſhews a ſuſpicion of their loyalty to the crown, or of their regard for their country, or of their common ſenſe and underſtanding; which they have not deſerved.

That compelling the colonies to pay money without their conſent, would be rather like raiſing contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of *Engliſhmen* for their own public benefit.

That it would be treating them as a conquered people, and not as true Britiſh ſubjects.

That a tax laid by the repreſentatives of the colonies might be eaſily leſſened as the occaſions ſhould leſſen; but, being once laid by parliament under the influence of the repreſentations made by governors, would probably be kept up, and continued for the benefit of governors; to the grievous burthen and diſcontentment of the

colonies, and prevention of their growth and increaſe.

That a power in governors to march the inhabitants from one end of the *Britiſh* and *French* colonies to the other, being a country of at leaſt one thouſand five hundred miles long, without the approbation or the conſent of their repreſentatives firſt obtained to ſuch expeditions; might be grievous and ruinous to the people; and would put them upon a footing with the ſubjects of *France* in *Canada*, that now groan under ſuch oppreſſion from their governor, who for two years paſt has haraſſed them with long and deſtructive marches to the Ohio *.

That if the colonies in a body may be well-governed by governors and councils appointed by the crown, without repreſentatives; particular colonies may as well, or better be ſo governed; a tax may be laid upon them all by act of parliament for ſupport of government; and their aſſemblies may be diſmiſſed as an uſeleſs part of the conſtitution.

That the powers propoſed by the Albany plan of union, to be veſted in a grand council repreſentative of the people, even with regard to military matters, are not ſo great as thoſe which the colonies of *Rhode Iſland* and *Connecticut* are entruſted with by their charters, and have never abuſed; for by this plan the Preſident General is appointed by the crown, and controls all by his negative;

* [The *French* tranſlator has omitted that part of this paragraph, which relates to the *Canadians* when ſubject to France. E.]

but

but in thoſe governments the people chooſe the governor, and yet allow him no negative.

That the *Britiſh colonies* bordering on the French are properly frontiers of the *Britiſh* empire; and the frontiers of an empire are properly defended at the joint expence of the body of the people in ſuch empire;—it would now be thought hard by act of parliament to oblige the Cinque ports or ſea coaſts of *Britain*, to maintain the whole navy, becauſe they are more immediately defended by it, not allowing them at the ſame time a vote in chooſing members of the parliament; and, as the frontiers of America bear the expence of their own defence, it ſeems hard to allow them no ſhare in voting the money, judging of the neceſſity and ſum, or adviſing the meaſures.

That beſides the taxes neceſſary for the defence of the frontiers, the colonies pay yearly great ſums to the mother-country unnoticed:—for 1. Taxes paid in Britain by the landholder or artificer, muſt enter into and increaſe the price of the produce of land and manufactures made of it; and great part of this is paid by conſumers in the colonies, who thereby pay a conſiderable part of the Britiſh taxes.

2. We are reſtrained in our trade with foreign nations; and where we could be ſupplied with any manufacture cheaper from them, but muſt buy the ſame dearer from Britain, the difference of price is a clear tax to *Britain*.

3. We are obliged to carry a great part of our produce directly to Britain; and where the duties laid

laid upon it leſſen its price to the planter, or it ſells for leſs than it would in foreign markets, the difference is a tax paid to *Britain.*

4. Some manufactures we could make, but are forbidden, and muſt take them of Britiſh merchants: the whole price is a tax paid to *Britain.*

5. By our greatly encreaſing the demand and conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, their price is conſiderably raiſed of late years; the advantage is clear profit to Britain, and enables its people better to pay great taxes; and much of it being paid by us, is clear tax to *Britain.*

6. In ſhort, as we are not ſuffered to regulate our trade, and reſtrain the importation and conſumption of Britiſh ſuperfluities (as *Britain* can the conſumption of foreign ſuperfluities) our whole wealth centers finally amongſt the merchants and inhabitants of *Britain*; and if we make them richer, and enable them better to pay their taxes, it is nearly the ſame as being taxed ourſelves, and equally beneficial to the crown.

Theſe kind of ſecondary taxes, however, we do not complain of, though we have no ſhare in the laying or diſpoſing of them: But to pay immediate heavy taxes, in the laying, appropriation, and diſpoſition of which, we have no part, and which perhaps we may know to be as unneceſſary as grievous; muſt ſeem hard meaſure to *Engliſhmen*; who cannot conceive that, by hazarding their lives and fortunes in ſubduing and ſettling new countries, extending the dominion, and increaſing the commerce of the mother-nation, they have forfeited

feited the native right of *Britons*; which they think ought rather to be given to them, as due to ſuch merit, if they had been before in a ſtate of ſlavery. — —

Theſe, and ſuch kind of things as theſe I apprehend, will be thought and ſaid by the people, if the propoſed alteration of the Albany plan ſhould take place. Then the adminiſtration of the board of governors and council ſo appointed, not having the repreſentative body of the people to approve and unite in its meaſures, and conciliate the minds of the people to them, will probably become ſuſpected and odious; dangerous animoſities and feuds will ariſe between the governors and governed; and every thing go into confuſion.

Perhaps I am too apprehenſive in this matter; but having freely given my opinion and reaſons, your Excellency can judge better than I, whether there be any weight in them; and the ſhortneſs of the time allowed me, will I hope in ſome degree excuſe the imperfections of this ſcrawl.

With the greateſt reſpect and fidelity, I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

III. LETTER *to the ſame, on the Subject of uniting the colonies more intimately with* Great Britain, *by allowing them* repreſentatives in parliament.

SIR, *Boſton, Dec.* 22, 1754.

SINCE the converſation your Excellency was pleaſed to honour me with, on the ſubject of *Uniting the colonies* more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them *repreſentatives in parliament*, I have ſomething further conſidered that matter; and am of opinion, that ſuch an union would be very acceptable to the colonies; provided they had a reaſonable number of repreſentatives allowed them; and that all the old acts of parliament reſtraining the trade or cramping the manufactures of the colonies, be at the ſame time repealed, and the *Britiſh* ſubjects *on this ſide the water*, put, in thoſe reſpects, on the ſame footing with thoſe in *Great Britain*, till the new parliament, repreſenting the whole, ſhall think it for the intereſt of the whole to re-enact ſome or all of them: it is not that I imagine ſo many repreſentatives will be allowed the colonies, as to have any great weight by their numbers; but I think there might be ſufficient, to occaſion thoſe laws to be better and more impartially conſidered, and perhaps to overcome the intereſt of a petty corporation, or of any particular ſet

of artificers or traders in *England*, who heretofore ſeem, in ſome inſtances, to have been more regarded than all the colonies, or than was conſiſtent with the general intereſt, or beſt national good. I think too that the government of the colonies, by a parliament, in which they are fairly repreſented, would be vaſtly more agreeable to the people, than the method lately attempted to be introduced by royal inſtruction; as well as more agreeable to the nature of an *Engliſh* conſtitution, and to *Engliſh* liberty; and that ſuch laws as now ſeem to bear hard on the colonies, would (when judged by ſuch a parliament for the beſt intereſt of the whole) be more cheerfully ſubmitted to, and more eaſily executed.

I ſhould hope too, that by ſuch an union, the people of Great Britain, and the people of the colonies, would learn to conſider themſelves, as not belonging to different communities with different intereſts, but to one community with one intereſt; which I imagine would contribute to ſtrengthen the whole, and greatly leſſen the danger of future ſeparations.

It is, I ſuppoſe, agreed to be the general intereſt of any ſtate, that its people be numerous and rich; men enow to fight in its defence, and enow to pay ſufficient taxes to defray the charge; for theſe circumſtances tend to the ſecurity of the ſtate, and its protection from foreign power. But it ſeems not of ſo much importance whether the fighting be done by John or Thomas, or the tax paid by William or Charles. The iron manu-

facture employs and enriches *Britiſh* ſubjects, but is it of any importance to the ſtate, whether the manufacturer lives at Birmingham or Sheffield, or both; ſince they are ſtill within its bounds, and their wealth and perſons ſtill at its command? Could the *Goodwin Sands* be laid dry by banks, and land equal to a large country thereby gained to England, and preſently filled with Engliſh inhabitants; would it be right to deprive ſuch inhabitants of the common privileges enjoyed by other Engliſhmen, the right of vending their produce in the ſame ports, or of making their own ſhoes; becauſe a merchant or a ſhoemaker, living on the old land, might fancy it more for his advantage to trade or make ſhoes for them? Would this be right, even if the land were gained at the expence of the ſtate? And would it not ſeem leſs right, if the charge and labour of gaining the additional territory to Britain had been borne by the ſettlers themſelves? and would not the hardſhip appear yet greater, if the people of the new country ſhould be allowed no repreſentatives in parliament enacting ſuch impoſitions? Now I look on the *colonies* as ſo many countries gained to *Great Britain*; and more advantageous to it, than if they had been gained out of the ſea around our coaſts, and joined to its land; for being in different climates, they afford greater variety of produce, and materials for more manufactures; and being ſeparated by the ocean, they increaſe much more its ſhipping and ſeamen: and, ſince they are

all included in the Britiſh empire, which has only extended itſelf by their means; and the ſtrength and wealth of the parts is the ſtrength and wealth of the whole; what imports it to the general ſtate, whether a merchant, a ſmith, or a hatter, grow rich in *Old* or *New England?* and if through increaſe of people, two ſmiths are wanted for one employed before, why may not the *new* ſmith be allowed to live and thrive in the *new* country, as well as the *old* one in the *old?* In fine, why ſhould the countenance of a ſtate be *partially* afforded to its people, unleſs it be moſt in favour of thoſe who have moſt merit? and, if there be any difference, thoſe who have moſt contributed to enlarge *Britain*'s empire and commerce, increaſe her ſtrength, her wealth, and the numbers of her people, at the riſque of their own lives and private fortunes in new and ſtrange countries, methinks ought rather to expect ſome preference. With the greateſt reſpect and eſteem, I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's moſt obedient,

and humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

PLAN *for ſettling two Weſtern Colonies in* North America, *with* Reaſons *for the Plan*, 1754 *.

THE great country back of the *Apalachian* mountains, on both ſides the *Ohio*, and between that river and the lakes; is now well known both to the Engliſh and French, to be one of the fineſt

* [For the occaſion which produced this plan, ſee what follows. I apprehend it was given to Governor *Pownall*, 1754, for the purpoſe of being inſerted in his memorial; but this point of anecdote I cannot ſufficiently aſcertain.

' *Extract of a Memorial drawn up by Order of, and preſented*
' *to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of* Cumberland, 1756, *by*
' T. Pownall.

' In other parts of our frontier, that are not the immediate re-
' ſidence and country of *Indians*, ſome other ſpecies of barrier
' ſhould be thought of, of which nothing can be more effectual
' than a barrier colony: but even this cannot be carried
' . . . . . into execution and effect, without the pre-
' vious meaſure of *entrepôts* in the country between us and the
' enemy . . . . . All mankind muſt know that no body of
' men, whether as an army, or as an emigration of coloniſts, can
' march from one country to another, through an inhoſpitable wil-
' derneſs, without magazines; nor with any ſafety, without poſts
' communicating among each other by practicable roads, to which
' to retire in caſe of accidents, repulſe, or delay.

' It is a fact which experience evinces the truth of, that we
' have always been able to outſettle the *French*; and have driven
' the *Indians* out of the country more by ſettling than fighting;
' and that whenever our ſettlements have been wiſely and com-
' pletely made, the *French* neither by themſelves, nor their dogs of
' war, the *Indians* have been able to remove us. It is upon this fact
' I found the propriety of the meaſure of ſettling a barrier colony
' in thoſe parts of our frontiers, *which are not the immediate re-*

fineſt in *North America*, for the extreme richneſs and fertility of the land; the healthy temperature of the air, and mildneſs of the climate; the plenty

'*ſidence or hunting-grounds of our* Indians. This is a meaſure that 'will be effectual; and will not only in time pay its expence, 'but make as great returns as any of our preſent colonies do; will 'give a ſtrength and unity to our dominions in *North America*; 'and give us *poſſeſſion* of the country, as well as *ſettlements* in it. 'But above all this, the ſtate and circumſtances of our ſettlements, 'render ſuch a meaſure not only proper and eligible, but ab'ſolutely neceſſary. The *Engliſh* ſettlements, as they are at 'preſent circumſtanced, are abſolutely at a ſtand; they are ſettled 'up to the mountains; and in the mountains there is no where 'together land ſufficient for a ſettlement large enough to ſubſiſt 'by itſelf, and to defend itſelf, and preſerve a communication 'with the preſent ſettlements.

'If the *Engliſh* would advance one ſtep further, or cover them'ſelves where they are, it muſt be at once, by one large ſtep over 'the mountains, with a numerous and military colony. Where 'ſuch ſhould be ſettled, I do not take upon me to ſay: at preſent 'I ſhall only point out the meaſure and the nature of it, by in'ſerting two ſchemes, one of Mr. *Franklin*'s, the other of your 'memorialiſt; and if I might indulge myſelf with ſcheming, I 'ſhould imagine that two ſuch were ſufficient, and only requiſite 'and proper: one at the back of *Virginia*, filling up the vacant 'ſpace between the five nations and ſouthern confederacy, and 'connecting, into one ſyſtem, our barrier; the other ſomewhere 'in the Cohaſs or Connecticut river, or wherever beſt adapted to 'cover the *New England* colonies. Theſe, with the little ſettle'ments mentioned above in the *Indian* countries, complete my 'idea of this branch.' See *Governor* Pownall's *Adminiſtration of the Colonies*. Vol. II. p. 228—231, 5th Edition.

The reader muſt carry along with him a diſtinction between the plans of Dr. *Franklin* and Governor *Pownall* here referred to. The firſt, (which is before him) is particular, and propoſes a plan for *two* ſettlements in the unlocated lands to the weſtward of *Penſylvania* and the *Virginian* mountains, and is totally ſilent with reſpect to a ſettlement in *New England:* the other treats of the mode of ſettling new colonies in *North America* in general, leaving the preciſe ſituation to be in ſome meaſure pointed out by the foregoing extract.

The copy from which this paper is printed, has appearances of being rather incorrectly taken from the original. E.]

of

of hunting, fiſhing, and fowling; the facility of trade with the Indians; and the vaſt convenience of inland navigation or water-carriage by the lakes and great rivers, many hundred of leagues around.

From theſe natural advantages it muſt undoubtedly (perhaps in leſs than another century) become a populous and powerful dominion; and a great acceſſion of power, either to England or France.

The *French* are now making open encroachments on theſe territories, in defiance of our known rights; and, if we longer delay to ſettle that country, and ſuffer them to poſſeſs it,—theſe *inconveniences and miſchiefs* will probably follow:

1. Our people, being confined to the country between the ſea and the mountains, cannot much more increaſe in number; people increaſing in proportion to their room and means of ſubſiſtence. (See the Obſervations on the Increaſe of Mankind, &c. p. 1.)

2. The *French* will increaſe much more, by that acquired room and plenty of ſubſiſtence, and become a great people behind us.

3. Many of our debtors, and looſe Engliſh people, our *German* ſervants, and ſlaves, will probably deſert to them; and increaſe their numbers and ſtrength, to the leſſening and weakening of ours.

4. They will cut us off from all commerce and alliance with the weſtern *Indians*, to the great

prejudice of Britain, by preventing the ſale and conſumption of its manufactures.

5. They will both in time of peace and war (as they have always done againſt *New England*) ſet the Indians on to haraſs our frontiers, kill and ſcalp our people, and drive in the advanced ſettlers; and ſo, in preventing our obtaining more ſubſiſtence by cultivating of new lands, they diſcourage our marriages, and keep our people from increaſing; thus (if the expreſſion may be allowed) killing thouſands of our children before they are born. — — —

If two ſtrong colonies of *Engliſh* were ſettled between the Ohio and lake Erie, in the places hereafter to be mentioned, — theſe *advantages* might be expected:

1. They would be a great ſecurity to the frontiers of our other colonies; by preventing the incurſions of the French and French Indians of Canada, on the back parts of Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas; and the frontiers of ſuch new colonies would be much more eaſily defended, than thoſe of the colonies laſt mentioned now can be, as will appear hereafter.

2. The dreaded junction of the French ſettlements in *Canada*, with thoſe of *Louiſiana* would be prevented.

3. In caſe of a war, it would be eaſy, from thoſe new colonies, to annoy *Louiſiana* by going down the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi; and the ſouthern part

part of *Canada* by ſailing over the lakes; and thereby confine the French within narrower limits.

4. We ſhould ſecure the friendſhip and trade of the *Miamis* or *Twigtwees*, (a numerous people, conſiſting of many tribes, inhabiting the country between the weſt end of lake Erie, and the ſouth end of lake Hurons, and the Ohio;) who are at preſent diſſatisfied with the French, and fond of the Engliſh, and would gladly encourage and protect an infant Engliſh ſettlement in or near their country, as ſome of their chiefs have declared to the writer of this memoir. Further, by means of the lakes, the Ohio, and the Miſſiſſippi, our trade might be extended through a vaſt country, among many numerous and diſtant nations, greatly to the benefit of Britain.

5. The ſettlement of all the intermediate lands, between the preſent frontiers of our colonies on one ſide, and the lakes and Miſſiſſippi on the other; would be facilitated and ſpeedily executed, to the great increaſe of *Engliſhmen*, *Engliſh* trade, and *Engliſh* power.

The grants to moſt of the colonies, are of long narrow ſlips of land, extending weſt from the Atlantick to the South Sea. They are much too long for their breadth; the extremes at too great a diſtance; and therefore unfit to be continued under their preſent dimenſions.

Several of the old colonies may conveniently be limited weſtward by the Allegeny or Apalachian mountains; and new colonies formed weſt of thoſe mountains. A ſin-

A ſingle old colony does not ſeem ſtrong enough to extend itſelf otherwiſe than inch by inch: it cannot venture a ſettlement far diſtant from the main body, being unable to ſupport it: But if the colonies were united under one governor general and grand council, agreeable to the *Albany* Plan, they might eaſily, by their joint force, eſtabliſh one or more new colonies, whenever they ſhould judge it neceſſary or advantageous to the intereſt of the whole. — — —

But if ſuch union ſhould not take place, it is propoſed that two charters be granted, *each* for ſome conſiderable part of the lands weſt of Penſylvania and the Virginian mountains, to a number of the nobility and gentry of *Britain*; with ſuch *Americans* as ſhall join them in contributing to the ſettlement of thoſe lands, either by paying a proportion of the expence of making ſuch ſettlements, or by actually going thither in perſon, and ſettling themſelves and families.

That by ſuch charters it be granted, that every actual ſettler be intitled to a tract of acres for himſelf, and acres for every poll in the family he carries with him; and that every contributor of guineas be intitled to a quantity of acres, equal to the ſhare of a ſingle ſettler, for every ſuch ſum of guineas contributed and paid to the colony treaſurer; a contributor for ſhares to have an additional ſhare *gratis*; that ſettlers may likewiſe be contributors, and have right of land in both capacities.

That

That as many and as great privileges and powers of government, be granted to the contributors and ſettlers, as his Majeſty in his wiſdom ſhall think moſt fit for their benefit and encouragement, conſiſtent with the general good of the *Britiſh* empire: for extraordinary privileges and liberties, with lands on eaſy terms, are ſtrong inducements to people to hazard their perſons and fortunes in ſettling new countries; and ſuch powers of government as (though ſuitable and much to the circumſtances, and fit to be truſted with an infant colony) might be judged unfit when it becomes populous, and powerful; theſe might be granted for a term only; as the choice of their own governor, for ninety-nine years;—the ſupport of government in the [colonies] of Connecticut and Rhode Iſland, (which *now* enjoy that and other like privileges) being much leſs expenſive, than in the colonies under the immediate government of the crown, and the conſtitution more inviting.

That the firſt contributors to the amount of guineas be empowered to chooſe a treaſurer to receive the contribution.

That no contributions be paid till the ſum of thouſand guineas be ſubſcribed.

That the money thus raiſed, be applied to the purchaſe of the lands from the Six Nations and other Indians, and of proviſions, ſtores, arms, ammunition, carriages, &c. for the ſettlers; who after having entered their names with the treaſurer, or perſon by him appointed to receive and enter

enter them, are, upon public notice given for that purpoſe, to rendezvous at a place to be appointed, and march in a body to the place deſtined for their ſettlement, under the [charge] of the government to be eſtabliſhed over them. Such rendezvous and march however not to be directed, till the number of names of ſettlers entered, capable of bearing arms, amount at leaſt to thouſand. — — —

It is apprehended, that a great ſum of money might be raiſed in *America* on ſuch a ſcheme as this; for there are many who would be glad of any opportunity, by advancing a ſmall ſum at preſent, to ſecure land for their children, which might in a few years become very valuable; and a great number it is thought of actual ſettlers, might likewiſe be engaged, (ſome from each of our preſent colonies) ſufficient to carry it into full execution by their ſtrength and numbers; provided only that the crown would be at the expence of removing the little forts the French have erected in their incroachments on his Majeſty's territories, and ſupporting a ſtrong one near the falls of Niagara, with a few ſmall armed veſſels, or half-gallies to cruize on the lakes. * * * * * — — —

For the ſecurity of this colony in its infancy, a ſmall fort might be erected and for ſome time maintained at *Buffalonic on the Ohio*, above the ſettlement; and another at the mouth of the Hioaga, on the ſouth ſide of lake Erie, where a

port ſhould be formed, and a town erected, for the trade of the lakes.—The coloniſts for *this ſettlement* might march by land through Penſylvania. — — —

The river *Siotha*, which runs into the Ohio about two hundred miles below Logs Town, is ſuppoſed the fitteſt ſeat for the *other colony*; there being for forty miles on each ſide of it and quite up to its heads, a body of all rich land; the fineſt ſpot of its bigneſs in all North America, and has the particular advantage of ſea-coal in plenty (even above ground in two places) for fewel, when the woods ſhall be deſtroyed. This colony would have the trade of the Miamis or Twigtwees; and ſhould, at firſt, have a ſmall fort near Hockkokin, at the head of the river; and another near the mouth of Wabaſh. Sandoſki, a French fort near the lake Erie, ſhould alſo be taken; and all the little French forts ſouth and weſt of the lakes, quite to the Miſſiſſippi, be removed, or taken and garriſoned by the Engliſh.—The coloniſts for this ſettlement might aſſemble near the heads of the rivers in Virginia, and march over land to the navigable branches of the Kanhawa, where they might embark with all their baggage and proviſions, and fall into the Ohio, not far above the mouth of Siotha. Or they might rendezvous at Will's Creek, and go down the Mohimgahela to the Ohio.

The fort and armed veſſels at the ſtrait of Niagara would be a vaſt ſecurity to the frontiers of theſe new colonies againſt any attempts of the French

French from Canada. The fort at the mouth of the Wabaſh, would guard that river, the Ohio, and Cutava river, in caſe of any attempt from the French of Miſſiſſippi. (Every fort ſhould have a ſmall ſettlement round it; as the fort would protect the ſettlers, and the ſettlers defend the fort.) — — —

The difficulty of ſettling the firſt *Engliſh* colonies in America, at ſo great a diſtance from England; muſt have been vaſtly greater than the ſettling theſe propoſed new colonies: for it would be the intereſt and advantage of all the preſent colonies to ſupport theſe new ones; as they would cover their frontiers, and prevent the growth of the French power behind or near their preſent ſettlements; and the new country is nearly at equal diſtance from all the old colonies; and could eaſily be aſſiſted from all of them.

And as there are already in the old colonies, many thouſands of families that are ready to ſwarm, wanting more land; the richneſs and natural advantage of the Ohio country would draw moſt of them thither, were there but a tolerable proſpect of a ſafe ſettlement. So that the new colonies would ſoon be full of people; and from the advantage of their ſituation, become much more terrible to the French ſettlements, than thoſe are now to us. The gaining of the back Indian trade from the French, by the navigation of the lakes, &c. would of itſelf greatly weaken our enemies:—it being now their principal ſupport, it ſeems highly probable

probable that in time they muſt be ſubjected to the Britiſh crown, or driven out of the country.

Such ſettlements may better be made now, than fifty years hence, becauſe it is eaſier to ſettle ourſelves, and thereby prevent the French ſettling there as they ſeem now to intend, than to remove them when ſtrongly ſettled.

If theſe ſettlements are poſtponed, then more forts and ſtronger, and more numerous and expenſive garriſons muſt be eſtabliſhed, to ſecure the country, prevent their ſettling, and ſecure our preſent frontiers; the charge of which, may probably exceed the charge of the propoſed ſettlements, and the advantage nothing near ſo great.

The fort at Oſwego ſhould likewiſe be ſtrengthened, and ſome armed half-gallies or other ſmall veſſels, kept there to cruiſe on lake Ontario, as propoſed by Mr. *Pownall* in his paper laid before the commiſſioners at the Albany treaty ‡.

If a fort was alſo built at Tirondequat on lake Ontario, and a ſettlement made there near the lake ſide, where the lands are ſaid to be good, (much better than at Oſwego;) the people of ſuch ſettlements would help to defend both forts on any emergency *.

‡ [See his Work above quoted, Vol. II. p. 234. *et ſeq.* *et ibid.* p. 179. *et ſeq.* E.]

* [This whole propoſal was neglected, though the *French* thought a conſiderable ſettlement very practicable, in order to get at the *Ohio*. See Governor *Pownall*, Vol. II. p. 236.

Dr. *Franklin* alſo failed in another propoſal for ſettling to the *ſouth* of the *Ohio*. E.]

The Intereſt of Great Britain *conſidered, with regard to her Colonies, and the Acquiſitions of* Canada *and* Guadaloupe *.

I Have peruſed with no ſmall pleaſure the *Letter* addreſſed to Two Great Men, and the *Re-*

* [In the year 1760, upon the proſpect of a peace with France, the late Earl of Bath addreſſed a *Letter to two great men*, (Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcaſtle,) on the terms neceſſary to be inſiſted upon in the negociation. He preferred the acquiſition of Canada, to acquiſitions in the Weſt Indies.—In the ſame year there appeared *Remarks* on the letter addreſſed to two great men, containing oppoſite opinions on this and other ſubjects.—At this moment a philoſopher ſtepped into the controverſy, and wrote a pamphlet entitled, *The Intereſt of Great Britain conſidered, with regard to her Colonies*, &c. The arguments he uſed, appear to have carried weight with them at the courts of London and Paris, for Canada was kept by the peace.

The Editor thinks it neceſſary to add the following further explanations.—The above piece (which firſt came to his hands in the ſhape of a pamphlet, printed for Becket 1761, 2d edit.) has none of the eight ſubdiviſions it is now thrown into, marked out by the author. He conceived however that they might be uſeful, and has taken the liberty of making them, but guards it with this apology.—The better to ſuit his purpoſe, the diviſion of the paragraphs, &c. and the Italics of the original, are not accurately adhered to. It was impoſſible for him however to alter *one word* in the ſenſe, ſtyle, or diſpoſition, of his author: *This* was a liberty for which he could make *no* apology.

In the original, the author has added his obſervations concerning the Increaſe of mankind, peopling of countries, &c. (printed in the beginning of this work); and introduced it with the following note. "In confirmation of the writer's opinion concerning population, "manufactures, &c. he has thought it not amiſs to add an extract "from a piece written ſome years ſince in America, where the facts "muſt be well known, on which the reaſonings are founded. It "is intitled, *Obſervations*, &c."

With reſpect to the arguments uſed by the authors of the *Letter*, and of the *Remarks*, it is uſeleſs to repeat them here. As far as they are neceſſary for the underſtanding of Dr. Franklin, they are to be collected from his own work. E.]

marks

marks on that Letter. It is not merely from the beauty, the force and perſpicuity of expreſſion, or the general elegance of manner conſpicuous in both pamphlets, that my pleaſure chiefly ariſes; it is rather from this, that I have lived to ſee ſubjects of the greateſt importance to this nation publicly diſcuſſed without party views, or party heat, with decency and politeneſs, and with no other warmth than what a zeal for the honour and happineſs of our king and country may inſpire;—and this by writers whoſe underſtanding (however they may differ from each other) appears not unequal to their candour and the uprightneſs of their intention.

But, as great abilities have not always the beſt information, there are, I apprehend, in the *Remarks*, ſome opinions not well founded, and ſome miſtakes of ſo important a nature, as to render a few obſervations on them neceſſary for the better information of the public.

The author of the *Letter*, who muſt be every way beſt able to ſupport his own ſentiments, will, I hope, excuſe me, if I ſeem officiouſly to interfere; when he conſiders, that the ſpirit of patriotiſm, like other qualities good and bad, is catching; and that his long ſilence ſince the Remarks appeared has made us deſpair of ſeeing the ſubject farther diſcuſſed by his maſterly hand. The ingenious and candid Remarker, too, who muſt have been miſled himſelf before he employed his ſkill and addreſs to miſlead others; will certainly, ſince he

declares he *aims at no ſeduction* *, be diſpoſed to excuſe even the weakeſt effort to prevent it.

And ſurely if the general opinions that poſſeſs the minds of the people may poſſibly be of conſequence in public affairs, it muſt be fit to ſet thoſe opinions right. If there is danger, as the Remarker ſuppoſes, that "extravagant expecta-"tions" may embarraſs "a virtuous and able mi-"niſtry," and "render the negotiation for peace a "work of infinite difficulty †;" there is no leſs danger that expectations too low, through want of proper information, may have a contrary effect; may make even a virtuous and able miniſtry leſs anxious, and leſs attentive to the obtaining points, in which the honour and intereſt of the nation are eſſentially concerned; and the people leſs hearty in ſupporting ſuch a miniſtry and its meaſures.

The people of this nation are indeed reſpectable, not for their numbers only, but for their underſtanding and their public ſpirit: they manifeſt the firſt, by their univerſal approbation of the late prudent and vigorous meaſures, and the confidence they ſo juſtly repoſe in a wiſe and good prince, and an honeſt and able adminiſtration; the latter they have demonſtrated by the immenſe ſupplies granted in parliament unanimouſly, and paid through the whole kingdom with cheerfulneſs. And ſince to this ſpirit and theſe ſupplies, our "victories and ſucceſſes ‡" have in great meaſure been owing; is it quite right, is it generous to

* Remarks, p. 6. † Ibid. p. 7. ‡ Ibid.

ſay,

ſay, with the Remarker, that the people "had no "ſhare in acquiring them?" The mere mob he cannot mean, even where he ſpeaks of the madneſs of the people; for the madneſs of the mob muſt be too feeble and impotent, armed as the government of this country at preſent is, to "over-"rule*," even in the ſlighteſt inſtances, the virtue "and moderation" of a firm and ſteady miniſtry.

While the war continues, its final event is quite uncertain. The Victorious of this year may be the Vanquiſhed of the next. It may therefore be too early to ſay, what advantages we ought abſolutely to inſiſt on, and make the *ſine quibus non* of a peace. If the neceſſity of our affairs ſhould oblige us to accept of terms leſs advantageous than our preſent ſucceſſes ſeem to promiſe us; an intelligent people, as ours is, muſt ſee that neceſſity, and will acquieſce. But as a peace, when it is made, may be made haſtily; and as the unhappy continuance of the war affords us time to conſider, among ſeveral advantages gained or to be gained, which of them may be moſt for our intereſt to retain, if ſome and not all may poſſibly be retained; I do not blame the public diſquiſition of theſe points, as premature or uſeleſs. Light often ariſes from a colliſion of opinions, as fire from flint and ſteel; and if we can obtain the benefit of the *light*, without danger from the *heat* ſometimes produced by controverſy, why ſhould we diſcourage it?

Suppoſing then, that heaven may ſtill continue to bleſs his Majeſty's arms, and that the event of

* Remarks, p. 7.

this juſt war may put it in our power to retain ſome of our conqueſts at the making of a peace; let us conſider,

1. [The ſecurity of a dominion, *a juſtifiable and prudent ground upon which to demand* ceſſions from an enemy.]

Whether we are to confine ourſelves to thoſe poſſeſſions only *that were "the objects for which "we began the war* *." This the Remarker ſeems to think right, when the queſtion relates to 'Ca-'nada, *properly ſo called*;' it having never been 'mentioned as one of thoſe objects, in any of our 'memorials or declarations, or in any national or 'public act whatſoever.' But the gentleman himſelf will probably agree, that if the Ceſſion of Canada would be a real advantage to us; we may demand it under his ſecond head, as an "*indem-*"*nification* for the charges incurred" in recovering our juſt rights; otherwiſe, according to his own principles, the demand of *Guadaloupe* can have no foundation.—That "our claims before "the war were large enough for poſſeſſion and "for ſecurity too †," though it ſeems a clear point with the ingenious Remarker, is, I own, not ſo with me. I am rather of the contrary opinion, and ſhall preſently give my reaſons.—

But firſt let me obſerve, that we did not make thoſe claims becauſe they were large enough for ſecurity, but becauſe we could rightfully claim

* Remarks, p. 19. † Ibid.

no

no more. Advantages gained in the courſe of this war, may increaſe the extent of our rights. Our claims before the war contained *ſome* ſecurity; but that is no reaſon why we ſhould neglect acquiring *more*, when the demand of more is become reaſonable.—It may be reaſonable in the caſe of America to aſk for the ſecurity recommended by the author of the *Letter* ||, though it would be prepoſterous to do it in many other caſes. His propoſed demand is founded on the little value of Canada to the French; the right we have to aſk, and the power we may have to inſiſt on an indemnification for our expences; the difficulty the French themſelves will be under of reſtraining their reſtleſs ſubjects in America from encroaching on our limits and diſturbing our trade; and the difficulty on our parts of preventing encroachments, that may poſſibly exiſt many years without coming to our knowledge.

But the Remarker "does not ſee why the "arguments employed concerning a ſecurity for "a peaceable behaviour in *Canada*, would not "be equally cogent for calling for the ſame ſe-"curity in *Europe* †." On a little farther reflection, he muſt I think be ſenſible, that the circumſtances of the two caſes are widely different.—*Here* we are ſeparated by the beſt and cleareſt of boundaries, the ocean, and we have people in or near every part of our territory. Any

|| Page 30. of the Letter, and p. 21. of the Remarks.
† Remarks, p. 24.

attempt to encroach upon us, by building a fort even in the obſcureſt corner of theſe iſlands, muſt therefore be known and prevented immediately. The aggreſſors alſo muſt be known, and the nation they belong to would be accountable for their aggreſſion.—In *America* it is quite otherwiſe. A vaſt wilderneſs, thinly or ſcarce at all peopled, conceals with eaſe the march of troops and workmen. Important paſſes may be ſeized within our limits, and forts built in a month, at a ſmall expence, that may coſt us an age, and a million to remove. Dear experience has taught us this. But what is ſtill *worſe*, the wide extended foreſts between our ſettlements and theirs, are inhabited by barbarous tribes of ſavages that delight in war, and take pride in murder; ſubjects properly neither of the French nor Engliſh; but ſtrongly attached to the former by the art and indefatigable induſtry of prieſts, ſimilarity of ſuperſtitions, and frequent family alliances. Theſe are eaſily, and have been continually, inſtigated to fall upon and maſſacre our planters, even in times of full peace between the two crowns; to the certain diminution of our people and the contraction of our ſettlements *. And though it is known they are ſupplied

* A very intelligent writer of that country, Dr. Clark, in his Obſervations on the late and preſent Conduct of the French, &c. printed at Boſton 1755, ſays,

'The Indians in the French intereſt are, upon all proper opportunities, *inſtigated by their prieſts*, (who have generally the chief management of their public councils,) to acts of hoſtility againſt the Engliſh, even in time of profound peace between the two

ſupplied by the French and carry their priſoners to them, we can by complaining obtain no redreſs; as the governors of Canada have a ready excuſe, that the Indians are an independent people, over whom they have no power, and for whoſe actions they are therefore not accountable. —Surely circumſtances ſo widely different, may reaſonably authoriſe different demands of ſecurity in America, from ſuch as are uſual or neceſſary in Europe.

'crowns. Of this there are many undeniable inſtances: The 'war between the Indians and the colonies of the Maſſachuſetts 'Bay and New Hampſhire, in 1723, by which thoſe colonies ſuf-'fered ſo much damage, was begun by the inſtigation of the French; 'their ſupplies were from them; and there are now original letters 'of ſeveral Jeſuits to be produced, whereby it evidently appears, 'that they were continually animating the Indians, when almoſt 'tired with the war, to a farther proſecution of it. The French 'not only excited the Indians, and ſupported them, but joined 'their own forces with them in all the late hoſtilities that have 'been committed within his Majeſty's province of Nova Scotia. 'And from an intercepted letter this year from the Jeſuit at Penob-'ſcot, and from other information, it is certain that they have been 'uſing their utmoſt endeavours to excite the Indians to new acts of 'hoſtility againſt his Majeſty's colony of the Maſſachuſetts Bay; and 'ſome have been committed.——The French not only excite the 'Indians to acts of hoſtility, but reward them for it, by *buying 'the Engliſh priſoners of them:* for the ranſom of each of which 'they afterwards demand of us the price that is uſually given for 'a ſlave in theſe colonies. They do this under the ſpecious pre-'tence of reſcuing the poor priſoners from the cruelties and bar-'barities of the ſavages; but in reality to encourage them to con-'tinue their depredations, as they can by this means get more by 'hunting the Engliſh, than by hunting wild-beaſts; and the French 'at the ſame time are thereby enabled to keep up a large body of 'Indians, entirely at *the expence of the Engliſh.*'

The Remarker, however, thinks, that our real dependance for keeping "France or any other na-"tion true to her engagements, muſt not be in "demanding ſecurities which no nation whilſt "*independent* can give; but on our own ſtrength "and our own vigilance *."—No nation that has carried on a war with diſadvantage, and is unable to continue it, can be ſaid, under ſuch circumſtances, to be *independent*; and while either ſide thinks itſelf in a condition to demand an indemnification, there is no man in his ſenſes, but will, cæteris paribus, prefer an indemnification that is a cheaper and more effectual ſecurity than any *other* he can think of. Nations in this ſituation demand and cede countries by almoſt every treaty of peace that is made.—The French part of the iſland of *St. Chriſtophers* was added to Great Britain in circumſtances altogether ſimilar to thoſe in which a few months may probably place the country of Canada. Farther ſecurity has always been deemed a motive with a conqueror to be leſs moderate: And even the *vanquiſhed* inſiſt upon ſecurity as a reaſon for demanding what they acknowledge they could not otherwiſe properly aſk. The ſecurity of the frontier of France *on the ſide of the Netherlands*, was always conſidered, in the negotiation that began at Gertruydenburgh, and ended with that war. For the ſame reaſon they demanded and had *Cape Breton*. But a war concluded to the advantage of France, has always

* Remarks, p. 25.

added

added ſomething to the power, either of France, or the houſe of Bourbon. Even that of 1733, which ſhe commenced with declarations of her having no ambitious views, and which finiſhed by a treaty at which the miniſters of France repeatedly declared that ſhe deſired nothing for herſelf; in effect gained for her *Lorrain*, an indemnification ten times the value of all her North American poſſeſſions.—In ſhort, ſecurity and quiet of princes and ſtates have ever been deemed ſufficient reaſons, when ſupported by power, for diſpoſing of rights; and ſuch diſpoſition has never been looked on as want of moderation. It has always been the foundation of the moſt general treaties. —The ſecurity of Germany was the argument for yielding conſiderable poſſeſſions there to the *Swedes:* And the ſecurity of Europe divided the *Spaniſh monarchy* by the partition treaty, made between powers who had no *other* right to diſpoſe of any part of it. There can be no ceſſion that is not ſuppoſed at leaſt, to increaſe the power of the party to whom it is made. It is enough that he has a right to aſk it, and that he does it not merely to ſerve the purpoſes of a dangerous ambition.

Canada in the hands of *Britain*, will endanger the kingdom of *France* as little as any other ceſſion; and from its ſituation and circumſtances cannot be hurtful to any *other* ſtate.—Rather, if peace be an advantage, this ceſſion may be ſuch to *all Europe*. The preſent war teaches us, that diſputes ariſing in America, may be an occaſion of embroiling

embroiling nations who have no concerns there. If the French remain in Canada and Louiſiana, fix the boundaries as you will between us and them, we muſt border on each other for more than 1500 miles. The people that inhabit the frontiers, are generally the refuſe of both nations; often of the worſt morals and the leaſt diſcretion; remote from the eye, the prudence, and the reſtraint of government. Injuries are therefore frequently, in ſome part or other of ſo long a frontier, committed on both ſides, reſentment provoked, the colonies firſt engaged, and then the mother countries. And two great nations can ſcarce be at war in Europe, but ſome other prince or ſtate thinks it a convenient opportunity to revive ſome ancient claim, ſeize ſome advantage, obtain ſome territory, or enlarge ſome power at the expence of a neighbour. The flames of war once kindled, often ſpread far and wide, and the miſchief is infinite.—Happy it proved to both nations, that the Dutch were prevailed on finally to cede the New Netherlands (now the province of *New York*) to us at the peace of 1674; a peace that has ever ſince continued between us; but muſt have been frequently diſturbed, if they had retained the poſſeſſion of that country, bordering ſeveral hundred miles on our colonies of Penſylvania weſtward, Connecticut and the Maſſachuſetts eaſtward.—Nor is it to be wondered at that people of different language, religion, and manners, ſhould in thoſe remote parts engage in frequent quarrels; when we find, that even the people of our *own colonies* have frequently been

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ſo exaſperated againſt *each other* in their diſputes about boundaries, as to proceed to open violence and bloodſhed.

2. [Erecting forts *in the back ſettlements, almoſt in no inſtances a* ſufficient *ſecurity againſt the Indians and the French; but* the poſſeſſion of Canada *implies* every *ſecurity; and ought to be had, while in our power.*]

But the Remarker thinks *we ſhall be* ſufficiently *ſecure in America, if we* 'raiſe Engliſh forts *at* 'ſuch paſſes as may at once make us reſpectable to 'the French and to the Indian nations*.' The ſecurity deſirable in America, may be conſidered as of three kinds; 1. A ſecurity of poſſeſſion, that the French ſhall not drive us out of the country. 2. A ſecurity of our planters from the inroads of ſavages, and the murders committed by them. 3. A ſecurity that the Britiſh nation ſhall not be obliged, on every new war, to repeat the immenſe expence occaſioned by this, to defend its poſſeſſions in America.—Forts in the moſt important paſſes, may, I acknowledge, be of uſe to obtain the *firſt* kind of ſecurity: but as thoſe ſituations are far advanced beyond the inhabitants, the expence of maintaining and ſupplying the garriſons, will be very great even in time of full peace, and immenſe on every interruption of it; as it is eaſy for ſkulking parties of the enemy in ſuch long roads through the woods, to intercept and cut off our convoys, unleſs guarded continually by great bodies of men. —The *ſecond* kind of ſecurity, will not be obtain-

* Remarks, p. 25.

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ed by ſuch forts, unleſs they were connected by a wall like that of China, from one end of our ſettlements to the other. If the Indians when at war, marched like the Europeans, with great armies, heavy cannon, baggage and carriages; the paſſes through which alone ſuch armies could penetrate our country or receive their ſupplies, being ſecured, all might be ſufficiently ſecure; but the caſe is widely different. They go to war, as they call it, in ſmall parties; from fifty men down to five. Their hunting life has made them acquainted with the whole country, and ſcarce any part of it is impracticable to ſuch a party. They can travel through the woods even by night, and know how to conceal their tracks. They paſs eaſily between your forts undiſcovered; and privately approach the ſettlements of your frontier inhabitants. They need no convoys of proviſions to follow them; for whether they are ſhifting from place to place in the woods, or lying in wait for an opportunity to ſtrike a blow, every thicket and every ſtream furniſhes ſo ſmall a number with ſufficient ſubſiſtence. When they have ſurprized ſeparately, and murdered and ſcalped a dozen families, they are gone with inconceivable expedition through unknown ways; and 'tis very rare that purſuers have any chance of coming up with them *. In ſhort, long experience has

* 'Although the Indians live ſcattered, as a hunter's life requires, 'they may be collected together from almoſt any diſtance; as they 'can find their ſubſiſtence from their gun in their travelling. But 'let the number of the *Indians* be what it will, they are not formi-'dable merely on account of their numbers; there are many other 'circumſtances

has taught our planters, that they cannot rely upon forts as a ſecurity againſt Indians: The inhabitants of

'circumſtances that give them a great advantage over the Engliſh. 'The Engliſh inhabitants, though numerous, are extended over 'a large tract of land, 500 leagues in length on the ſea ſhore; and 'although ſome of their trading towns are thick ſettled, their ſet-'tlements in the country towns muſt be at a diſtance from each 'other: beſides, that in a new country where lands are cheap, peo-'ple are fond of acquiring large tracts to themſelves; and there-'fore in the out-ſettlements, they muſt be more remote: and as 'the people that move out are generally poor, they ſit down either 'where they can eaſieſt procure land, or ſooneſt raiſe a ſubſiſtence. 'Add to this, that the *Engliſh* have fixed ſettled habitations, the 'eaſieſt and ſhorteſt paſſages to which the *Indians*, by conſtantly 'hunting in the woods, are perfectly well acquainted with; whereas 'the *Engliſh* know little or nothing of the Indian country, nor of 'the paſſages through the woods that lead to it. The *Indian* way 'of making war is by ſudden attacks upon expoſed places; and as 'ſoon as they have done miſchief, they retire, and either go home 'by the ſame or ſome different route, as they think ſafeſt; or go to 'ſome other place at a diſtance to renew their ſtroke. If a ſufficient 'party ſhould happily be ready to purſue them, it is a great chance, 'whether in a country conſiſting of woods and ſwamps, which the '*Engliſh* are not acquainted with, the enemy do not lie in ambuſh 'for them in ſome convenient place, and from thence deſtroy them. 'If this ſhould not be the caſe, but the *Engliſh* ſhould purſue them, 'as ſoon as they have gained the rivers, by means of their canoes, '(to the uſe of which they are brought up from their infancy) they 'preſently get out of their reach: further, if a body of men were 'to march into their country, to the places where they are ſettled, 'they can, upon the leaſt notice, without great diſadvantage, quit 'their preſent habitations, and betake themſelves to new ones.' Clark's Obſervations, p. 13.

'It has been already remarked, that the tribes of the Indians 'living upon the lakes and rivers that run upon the back of the *Eng-'liſh* ſettlements in *North America*, are very numerous, and can 'furniſh a great number of fighting men, all perfectly well acquaint-'ed with the uſe of arms as ſoon as capable of carrying them, as 'they get the whole of their ſubſiſtence from hunting; and that 'this army, large as it may be, can be maintained by the French 'without any expence. From their numbers, their ſituation, and 'the rivers that run into the *Engliſh* ſettlements, it is eaſy to con-

of Hackney might as well rely upon the tower of London to ſecure them againſt highwaymen and houſebreakers.—As to the *third* kind of ſecurity, that we ſhall not, in a few years, have all we have now done, to do over again in America; and be obliged to employ the ſame number of troops, and ſhips, at the ſame immenſe expence to defend our poſſeſſions there, while we are in proportion weakened here: ſuch forts I think cannot prevent this. During a peace, it is not to be doubted the French, who are adroit at fortifying, will likewiſe erect forts in the moſt advantageous places of the country we leave them; which will make it more difficult than ever to be reduced in caſe of another war. We know by the experience of this war, how extremely difficult it is to march an army through the American woods, with its neceſſary cannon and

'ceive that they can at any time make an attack upon, and con-
'ſtantly annoy as many of the expoſed *Engliſh* ſettlements as they
'pleaſe, and thoſe at any diſtance from each other. The effects
'of ſuch incurſions have been too ſeverely felt by many of the *Britiſh*
'colonies, not to be very well known. The entire breaking up
'places that had been for a conſiderable time ſettled at a great ex-
'pence, both of labour and money; burning the houſes, deſtroy-
'ing the ſtock, killing and making priſoners great numbers of
'the inhabitants, with all the cruel uſage they meet with in their
'captivity, is only a part of the ſcene. All other places that are
'expoſed are kept in continual terror; the lands lie waſte and un-
'cultivated, from the danger that attends thoſe that ſhall preſume to
'work upon them: beſides the immenſe charge the governments
'muſt be at in a very ineffectual manner to defend their extended
'frontiers; and all this from the influence the *French* have had
'over, but comparatively, a few of the *Indians*.—To the ſame or
'greater evils ſtill will every one of the colonies be expoſed, when-
'ever the ſame influence ſhall be extended to the whole body of
'them.' Ibid. p. 20.

ſtores,

ſtores, ſufficient to reduce a very ſlight fort. The accounts at the treaſury will tell you what amazing ſums we have neceſſarily ſpent in the expeditions againſt two very trifling forts, Duqueſne and Crown Point. While the French retain their influence over the Indians, they can eaſily keep our long extended frontier in continual alarm, by a very few of thoſe people; and with a ſmall number of regulars and militia, in ſuch a country, we find they can keep an army of ours in full employ for ſeveral years. We therefore ſhall not need to be told by our colonies, that if we leave Canada, however circumſcribed, to the French, "we have done nothing *;" we ſhall ſoon be made ſenſible *ourſelves* of this truth, and to our coſt.

I would not be underſtood to deny that even if we ſubdue and retain Canada, ſome *few forts* may be of uſe to ſecure the goods of the traders, and protect the commerce, in caſe of any ſudden miſunderſtanding with any tribe of Indians: but theſe forts will be beſt under the care of the colonies intereſted in the Indian trade, and garriſoned by their provincial forces, and at their own expence. Their own intereſt will then induce the American governments to take care of ſuch forts in proportion to their importance; and ſee that the officers keep their corps full, and mind their duty. But any troops of ours placed there, and accountable here; would, in ſuch remote and obſcure places, and at ſo great a diſtance from the eye and in-

* Remarks, p. 26.

ſpection

ſpection of ſuperiors, ſoon become of little conſequence, even though the French were left in poſſeſſion of Canada. If the four independent companies, maintained by the Crown in New York more than forty years, at a great expence, conſiſted, for moſt part of the time, of faggots chiefly; if their officers enjoyed their places as fine cures, and were only, as a writer * of that country ſtiles them, a kind of military monks; if this was the ſtate of troops poſted in a populous country, where the impoſition could not be ſo well concealed; what may we expect will be the caſe of thoſe that ſhall be poſted two, three, or four hundred miles from the inhabitants, in ſuch obſcure and remote places as Crown Point, Oſwego, Duqueſne, or Niagara? they would ſcarce be even faggots; they would dwindle to meer names upon paper, and appear no where but upon the muſter-rolls.

Now *all the kinds* of ſecurity we have mentioned, are obtained by ſubduing and *retaining Canada*. Our preſent poſſeſſions in America, are ſecured; our planters will no longer be maſſacred by the Indians; who depending abſolutely on us for what are now become the neceſſaries of life to them, (guns, powder, hatchets, knives, and clothing) and having no other Europeans near, that can either ſupply them, or inſtigate them againſt us; there is no doubt of their being always diſpoſed, if we treat them with common juſtice, to live in perpetual peace with us. And with regard to

* Douglaſs.

France,

France, ſhe cannot, in caſe of another war, put us to the immenſe expence of defending that long extended frontier; we ſhall then, as it were, have our backs againſt a wall in America; the ſea coaſt will be eaſily protected by our ſuperior naval power: and here "our own watchfulneſs and our own ſtrength" will be properly, and cannot but be ſucceſsfully employed. In this ſituation, the force now employed in that part of the world, may be ſpared for any other ſervice here or elſewhere; ſo that both the offenſive and defenſive ſtrength of the Britiſh empire, on the whole, will be greatly increaſed.

But to leave the French in poſſeſſion of Canada *when it is in our power to remove them, and depend,* (as the Remarker propoſes,) *on our own* "ſtrength "and watchfulneſs *" *to prevent the miſchiefs that may attend it, ſeems neither ſafe nor prudent.* Happy as we now are, under the beſt of kings, and in the proſpect of a ſucceſſion promiſing every felicity a nation was ever bleſſed with; happy too in the wiſdom and vigour of every part of the adminiſtration; we cannot, we ought not to promiſe ourſelves the uninterrupted continuance of thoſe bleſſings. The ſafety of a conſiderable part of the ſtate, and the intereſt of the whole, are not to be truſted to the wiſdom and vigour of *future adminiſtrations*; when a ſecurity is to be had more effectual, more conſtant, and much leſs expenſive. They who can be moved by the apprehenſion of dangers ſo remote, as that of the future indepen-

* Page 25.

dence of our colonies (a point I ſhall hereafter conſider) ſeem ſcarcely conſiſtent with themſelves, when they ſuppoſe we may rely on the wiſdom and vigour of an adminiſtration for their ſafety.—I ſhould indeed think it leſs material whether Canada were ceded to us or not, if I had in view only the ſecurity of *poſſeſſion* in our colonies. I entirely agree with the Remarker, that we are in North America "a far greater continental as well "as naval power;" and that only cowardice or ignorance can ſubject our colonies there to a French conqueſt. But for the ſame reaſon I diſagree with him widely upon another point.

3. [*The blood and treaſure ſpent in the American wars*, not *ſpent in the cauſe of* the colonies alone.]

I do not think that our "blood and treaſure "has been expended," as he intimates, "*in the* "*cauſe of the colonies*," and that we are "mak-"ing conqueſts for *them* *:" yet I believe this is too common an error.—I do not ſay they are altogether unconcerned in the event. The inhabitants of them are, in common with the other ſubjects of Great Britain, anxious for the glory of her crown, the extent of her power and commerce, the welfare and future repoſe of the whole Britiſh people. They could not therefore but take a large ſhare in the affronts offered to Britain; and have been animated with a truly Britiſh ſpirit to exert themſelves beyond their ſtrength,

* Remarks, p. 26.

and

and againſt their evident intereſt. Yet ſo unfortunate have they been, that their virtue has made againſt them; for upon no better foundation than this, have they been ſuppoſed the authors of a war, carried on for their advantage only.—It is a great miſtake to imagine that the American country in queſtion between Great Britain and France, is claimed as the property of any *individuals or public body in America*; or that the poſſeſſion of it by Great Britain, is likely, in any lucrative view, to redound at all to the advantage of any perſon there. On the other hand, the bulk of the inhabitants of North America are *land-owners*; whoſe lands are inferior in value to thoſe of Britain, only by the want of an equal number of people. It is true, the acceſſion of the large territory claimed before the war began, (eſpecially if that be ſecured by the poſſeſſion of Canada,) will tend to the increaſe of the *Britiſh ſubjects* faſter than if they had been confined within the mountains: yet the increaſe within the mountains only, would evidently make the *comparative* population equal to that of Great Britain much ſooner than it can be expected when our people are ſpread over a country ſix times as large. I think this is the only point of light in which this queſtion is to be viewed, and is the only one in which any of the colonies are concerned.—No colony, no poſſeſſor of lands in any colony, therefore wiſhes for conqueſts, or can be benefited by them, otherwiſe than as they may be a means of *ſecuring peace on their borders*. No conſiderable advantage has reſulted to the colonies

by the conqueſts of this war, or can reſult from confirming them by the peace, but what they muſt enjoy in common with the reſt of the Britiſh people; with this evident drawback from their ſhare of theſe advantages, that they will neceſſarily leſſen, or at leaſt prevent the increaſe of the value of what makes the principal part of their private property [their land].—A people ſpread through the whole tract of country on this ſide the Miſſiſſippi, and ſecured by Canada in our hands, would probably for ſome centuries find employment in agriculture; and thereby free us at home effectually from our fears of American manufactures.—Unprejudiced men well know that all the penal and prohibitory laws that ever were thought on, will not be ſufficient to prevent manufactures in a country whoſe inhabitants ſurpaſs the number that can ſubſiſt by the huſbandry of it. That this will be the caſe in America ſoon, if our people remain confined within the mountains, and almoſt as ſoon ſhould it be unſafe for them to live beyond, though the country be ceded to us; no man acquainted with political and commercial hiſtory can doubt. Manufactures are founded in poverty: It is the multitude of poor without land in a country, and who muſt work for others at low wages or ſtarve; that enables undertakers to carry on a manufacture, and afford it cheap enough to prevent the importation of the ſame kind from abroad, and to bear the expence of its own exportation.—But no man who can have a piece of land of his own, ſufficient by his labour to ſubſiſt his family in plenty, is poor

enough to be a manufacturer, and work for a maſter. Hence, while there is land enough in America for our people, there can never be manufactures to any amount or value. It is a ſtriking obſervation of a very *able pen* †, that the natural livelihood of the thin inhabitants of a foreſt country is hunting; that of a greater number, paſturage; that of a middling population, agriculture; and that of the greateſt, manufactures; which laſt muſt ſubſiſt the bulk of the people in a full country, or they muſt be ſubſiſted by charity, or periſh.—The extended population, therefore, that is moſt advantageous to Great Britain, will be beſt effected, becauſe only effectually ſecured, by our poſſeſſion of Canada.

So far as the *being* of our preſent colonies in North America is concerned, I think indeed with the Remarker, that the French there are not "*an* "*enemy to be apprehended* *;"—but the expreſſion is too vague to be applicable to the preſent, or indeed to any other caſe. Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, unequal as they are to this nation in power and numbers of people, are enemies to be ſtill apprehended; and the Highlanders of Scotland have been ſo for many ages, by the greateſt princes of Scotland and Britain. The wild Iriſh were able to give a great deal of diſturbance even to Queen Elizabeth, and coſt her more blood and treaſure than her war with Spain.—Canada in the hands of France has always ſtinted the growth of our co-

† [This I believe is meant for Dr. Adam Smith, who ſeems not at this time to have *printed* any of his political pieces. E.]

* Remarks, p. 27.

lonies; in the courſe of this war, and indeed before it, has diſturbed and vexed even the beſt and ſtrongeſt of them; has found means to murder thouſands of their people, and unſettle a great part of their country. Much more able will it be to ſtarve the growth of an infant ſettlement. Canada has alſo found means to make this nation ſpend two or three millions a year in America; and a people, how ſmall ſoever, that in their preſent ſituation, can do this as often as we have a war with them, is methinks, "an enemy to be apprehended."

Our North American colonies are to be conſidered as the *frontier of the Britiſh empire* on that ſide. The frontier of any dominion being attacked, it becomes not merely "the cauſe" of the people immediately affected, (the inhabitants of that frontier) but properly "the cauſe" of the whole body. Where the frontier people owe and pay obedience, there they have a right to look for protection: No political propoſition is better eſtabliſhed than this. It is therefore invidious to repreſent the "blood and treaſure" ſpent in this war, as ſpent in "the cauſe of the colonies" only; and that they are "abſurd and ungrateful" if they think we have done nothing, unleſs we "make "conqueſts for them," and reduce Canada to gratify their "vain ambition," &c. It will not be a conqueſt for *them*, nor gratify any vain ambition of theirs. It will be a conqueſt for the *whole*; and all our people will, in the increaſe of trade, and the eaſe of taxes, find the advantage of it.—Should we be obliged at any time to make

a war for the protection of our commerce, and to ſecure the exportation of our manufactures; would it be fair to repreſent ſuch a war, merely as blood and treaſure ſpent in the cauſe of the weavers of Yorkſhire, Norwich, or the Weſt; the cutlers of Sheffield, or the button-makers of Birmingham? I hope it will appear before I end theſe ſheets, that if ever there was a national war, this is truly ſuch a one: a war in which the intereſt of the whole nation is directly and fundamentally concerned.—Thoſe who would be thought deeply ſkilled in human nature, affect to diſcover ſelf-intereſted views every where at the bottom of the faireſt, the moſt generous conduct. Suſpicions and charges of this kind, meet with ready reception and belief in the minds even of the multitude; and therefore leſs acuteneſs and addreſs than the Remarker is poſſeſſed of, would be ſufficient to perſuade the nation generally, that all the zeal and ſpirit manifeſted and exerted by the colonies in this war, was only in "their own cauſe," to "make conqueſts for themſelves," to engage us to make more for them, to gratify their own "vain ambition."

But ſhould they now 'humbly addreſs the 'mother country in the terms and the ſentiments 'of the Remarker; return her their grateful ac-'knowledgments for the blood and treaſure ſhe 'had ſpent in "their cauſe;" confeſs that enough 'had been done "for them;" allow that "Eng-"liſh forts raiſed in proper paſſes, will, with the "wiſdom and vigour of her adminiſtration" be a

'ſufficient future protection; expreſs their deſires 'that their people may be confined within the 'mountains, leſt [if] they are ſuffered to ſpread 'and extend themſelves in the fertile and pleaſant 'country on the other ſide, they ſhould "increaſe "infinitely from all cauſes," "live wholly on "their own labour" and become independent; 'beg therefore that the French may be ſuffered 'to remain in poſſeſſion of Canada, as their neigh-'bourhood may be uſeful to prevent our increaſe; 'and the removing them may "in its conſe-"quences be even dangerous*:"—I ſay, ſhould ſuch an addreſs from the colonies make its appearance here, (though, according to the Remarker, it would be a moſt juſt and reaſonable one;) would it not, might it not with more juſtice be anſwered; '—We underſtand you, Gentlemen, perfectly well: 'you have only your own intereſt in view: you 'want to have the people confined within your 'preſent limits, that in a few years the lands you 'are poſſeſſed of may increaſe tenfold in value! you 'want to reduce the price of labour, by increaſing 'numbers on the ſame territory, that you may be 'able to ſet up manufactures and vie with your 'mother country! you would have your people 'kept in a body, that you may be more able to 'diſpute the commands of the crown, and obtain 'an independency. You would have the French 'left in Canada, to exerciſe your military virtue, 'and make you a warlike people, that you may 'have more confidence to embark in ſchemes of

* Remarks, p. 50, 51.

'diſ-

'diſobedience, and greater ability to ſupport 'them! You have taſted too, the ſweets of TWO 'OR THREE MILLIONS Sterling per annum ſpent 'among you by our fleets and forces, and you are 'unwilling to be without a pretence for kindling 'up another war, and thereby occaſioning a re-'petition of the ſame delightful doſes! But, Gen-'tlemen, allow us to underſtand *our* intereſt a 'little likewiſe: we ſhall remove the French from 'Canada, that you may live in peace, and we be 'no more drained by your quarrels. You ſhall 'have land enough to cultivate, that you may 'have neither neceſſity nor inclination to go into 'manufactures; and we will manufacture for you, 'and govern you.'

A reader of the Remarks may be apt to ſay; if this writer would have us reſtore Canada, on principles of moderation; how can we, conſiſtent with thoſe principles, retain *Guadaloupe*, which he repreſents of ſo much greater value!—I will endeavour to explain this, becauſe by doing it I ſhall have an opportunity of ſhewing the truth and good ſenſe of the anſwer to the intereſted application I have juſt ſuppoſed: The author then is only apparently and not really inconſiſtent with himſelf.—If we can obtain the credit of moderation by reſtoring Canada, it is well: but we ſhould, however, reſtore it at *all events*; becauſe it would not only be of no uſe to us; but "the poſſeſſion of it (in his opinion) "may in its conſequences be dangerous *." As

* Remarks, p. 50, 51.

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how? Why, plainly, (at length it comes out) if the French are not left there to check the growth of our colonies, "they will extend themſelves almoſt "without bounds into the inland parts, and in-"creaſe infinitely from all cauſes; becoming a "numerous, hardy, independent people; poſ-"ſeſſed of a ſtrong country, communicating lit-"tle or not at all with England, living wholly on "their own labour, and in proceſs of time know-"ing little and enquiring little about the mother "country." In ſhort, according to this writer, our preſent colonies are large enough and numerous enough; and the French ought to be left in North America to prevent their increaſe, *leſt* they become not only uſeleſs, but dangerous to Britain.—I agree with the Gentleman, that with Canada in our poſ-ſeſſion, our people in America will increaſe amaz-ingly. I know, that their common rate of increaſe, where they are not moleſted by the enemy, is doubling their numbers every twenty-five years, by natural generation only; excluſive of the acceſ-ſion of foreigners *. I think this increaſe continu-ing, would probably in a century more, make the

* The reaſon of this greater increaſe in America than in Europe, is, that in old ſettled countries, all trades, farms, offices, and employments are full; and many people refrain marrying till they ſee an opening, in which they can ſettle themſelves, with a reaſon-able proſpect of maintaining a family: but in America, it being eaſy to obtain land, which with moderate labour will afford ſubſiſ-tence and ſomething to ſpare, people marry more readily and earlier in life, whence ariſes a numerous offſpring and the ſwift population of thoſe countries. 'Tis a common error that we cannot fill our provinces or increaſe the number of them, without draining this nation of its people. The increment alone of our preſent colonies is ſufficient for both thoſe purpoſes. [Written in 1760. E.]

number

number of Britiſh ſubjects on that ſide the water more numerous than they now are on this; *But*

4. [*Not neceſſary that the American colonies ſhould* ceaſe being uſeful *to the mother country. Their* preference *over the Weſt Indian colonies ſtated.*]

I am far from entertaining on that account, any fears of their becoming either uſeleſs *or dangerous to us; and I look on thoſe fears to be merely imaginary, and without any probable foundation.*— The Remarker is reſerved in giving his reaſons; as in his opinion this "is not a fit ſubject for "diſcuſſion."—I ſhall give mine, becauſe I conceive it a ſubject neceſſary to be diſcuſſed; and the rather, as thoſe fears, how groundleſs and chimerical ſoever, may, by poſſeſſing the multitude, poſſibly induce the ableſt miniſtry to conform to them againſt their own judgment; and thereby prevent the aſſuring to the Britiſh name and nation a ſtability and permanency, that no man acquainted with hiſtory durſt have hoped for till our American poſſeſſions opened the pleaſing proſpect. The Remarker thinks that our people in America, "finding no check from Canada, would "extend themſelves almoſt without bounds into "the inland parts, and increaſe infinitely from all "cauſes." The very reaſon he aſſigns for their ſo extending, and which is indeed the true one, (their being "invited to it by the pleaſantneſs, "fertility and plenty of the country,") may ſatisfy us, that this extenſion will continue to proceed,

ceed, as long as there remains any pleaſant fertile country within their reach. And if we even ſuppoſe them confined by the waters of the Miſſiſſippi weſtward, and by thoſe of St. Laurence and the lakes to the northward; yet ſtill we ſhall leave them room enough to increaſe even in the manner of ſettling now practiſed there, till they amount to perhaps a hundred millions of ſouls. This muſt take ſome centuries to fulfil: And in the *mean time*, this nation muſt neceſſarily ſupply them with the manufactures they conſume; becauſe the new ſettlers will be employed in agriculture; and the new ſettlements will ſo continually draw off the ſpare hands from the old, that our preſent colonies will not, during the period we have mentioned, find themſelves in a condition to manufacture even for their own inhabitants, to any conſiderable degree; much leſs for thoſe who are ſettling behind them. ——

Thus our trade muſt, till that country becomes as fully peopled as England, (that is for centuries to come,) be continually increaſing, and with it our naval power; becauſe the ocean is between us and them, and our ſhips and ſeamen muſt increaſe as that trade increaſes.—The human body and the political differ in this; that the firſt is limited by nature to a certain ſtature, which, when attained, it cannot, ordinarily, exceed; the other, by better government and more prudent police, as well as by change of manners and other circumſtances, often takes freſh ſtarts of growth, after being long at a ſtand; and may add tenfold

to

to the dimenſions it had for ages been confined to. The mother being of full ſtature, is in a few years equalled by a growing daughter: but in the caſe of a mother country and her colonies, it is quite different. The growth of the children tends to increaſe the growth of the mother, and ſo the difference and ſuperiority is longer preſerved.—Were the inhabitants of this iſland limited to their preſent number by any thing in nature, or by unchangeable circumſtances, the equality of population between the two countries might indeed ſooner come to paſs: but ſure experience in thoſe parts of the iſland where manufactures have been introduced, teaches us; that people increaſe and multiply in proportion as the means and facility of gaining a livelihood increaſe; and that this iſland, if they could be employed, is capable of ſupporting ten times its preſent number of people.—In proportion therefore, as the demand increaſes for the manufactures of Britain, by the increaſe of people in her colonies, the number of her people at home will increaſe; and with them, the ſtrength as well as the wealth of the nation. For ſatisfaction in this point let the reader compare in his mind the number and force of our preſent fleets, with our fleet in Queen Elizabeth's time *, before we had colonies. Let him compare the ancient, with the preſent ſtate of our towns and ports on or near our weſtern coaſt, (Mancheſter, Liverpool, Kendal, Lancaſter, Glaſgow, and the countries round them,) that trade with and manufacture for our

* Viz. 40 ſail, none of more than 40 guns.

colonies,

colonies, (not to mention Leeds, Halifax, Sheffield and Birmingham,) and conſider what a difference there is in the numbers of people, buildings, rents, and the value of land and of the produce of land; even if he goes back no farther than is with man's memory. Let him compare thoſe countries with others on the ſame iſland, where manufactures have not yet extended themſelves; obſerve the preſent difference, and reflect how much greater our ſtrength may be, (if numbers give ſtrength,) when our manufacturers ſhall occupy every part of the iſland where they can poſſibly be ſubſiſted.

But, ſay the objectors, 'there is *a certain diſtance from the ſea*, in America, beyond which the 'expence of carriage will put a ſtop to the ſale and 'conſumption of your manufactures; and this, with 'the difficulty of making returns for them, will 'oblige the inhabitants to manufacture for themſelves; of courſe, if you ſuffer your people to extend their ſettlements beyond that diſtance, your 'people become uſeleſs to you:' And this diſtance is limited by ſome to 200 miles, by others to the Apalachian mountains.—Not to inſiſt on a very plain truth, that no part of a dominion, from whence a government may on occaſion draw ſupplies and aids both of men and money, (though at too great a diſtance to be ſupplied with manufactures from ſome other part,) is therefore to be deemed uſeleſs to the whole; I ſhall endeavour to ſhow that theſe imaginary limits of utility, even in point of commerce, are much too narrow.—The inland parts of the continent of *Europe* are farther

farther from the ſea, than the limits of ſettlement propoſed for America. Germany is full of tradeſmen and artificers of all kinds, and the governments there, are not all of them always favourable to the commerce of Britain; yet it is a well-known fact, that our manufactures find their way even into the heart of Germany. Aſk the great manufacturers and merchants of the Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Mancheſter, and Norwich goods; and they will tell you, that ſome of them ſend their riders frequently through France or Spain and Italy, up to Vienna, and back through the middle and northern parts of Germany; to ſhow ſamples of their wares and collect orders, which they receive by almoſt every mail, to a vaſt amount. Whatever charges ariſe on the carriage of goods, are added to the value, and all paid by the conſumer.—If theſe nations over whom we have no government; over whoſe conſumption we can have no influence, but what ariſes from the cheapneſs and goodneſs of our wares; whoſe trade, manufactures, or commercial connections are not ſubject to the controul of our laws, as thoſe of our colonies certainly are in ſome degree; I ſay, if theſe nations purchaſe and conſume ſuch quantities of our goods, notwithſtanding the remoteneſs of their ſituation from the ſea; how much leſs likely is it that the ſettlers in America, who muſt for ages be employed in agriculture chiefly, ſhould make cheaper for themſelves the goods our manufacturers at preſent ſupply them with: Even if we ſuppoſe the carriage five, ſix or ſeven hundred miles

miles from the ſea as difficult and expenſive, as the like diſtance into Germany:—whereas in the latter, the natural diſtances are frequently doubled by political obſtructions; I mean the intermixed territories and claſhing intereſts of princes ‡.—But when we conſider that the inland parts of America are penetrated by great navigable rivers; that there are a number of great lakes, communicating with each other, with thoſe rivers, and with the ſea, very ſmall portages here and there excepted *; that the ſea coaſts (if one may be allowed the expreſſion) of thoſe lakes only, amount at leaſt to 2700 miles, excluſive of the rivers running into them (many of which are navigable to a great extent for boats and canoes, through vaſt tracts of country); how little likely is it that the expence on the carriage of our goods into thoſe countries ſhould prevent the uſe of them.—If the *poor Indians* in thoſe remote parts are now able to pay for the linen, woollen and iron wares they are at preſent

‡ [Sir C. Whitworth has the following aſſertion. "Each ſtate in "Germany is jealous of its neighbours; and hence, rather than fa-"cilitate the export or tranſit of its neighbours products or manu-"factories, they have all recourſe to ſtrangers." State of Trade, p. xxiv. E.]

* From New York into lake Ontario, the land-carriage of the ſeveral portages altogether, amounts to but about 27 miles. From lake Ontario into lake Erie, the land-carriage at Niagara is but about 12 miles. All the lakes above Niagara communicate by navigable ſtraits, ſo that no land-carriage is neceſſary, to go out of one into another. From Preſqu'iſle on lake Erie, there are but 15 miles land-carriage, and that a good waggon-road, to Beef River, a branch of the Ohio; which brings you into a navigation of many thouſand miles inland, if you take together the Ohio, the Miſſiſſippi, and all the great rivers and branches that run into them.

[The

ſent furniſhed with by the French and Engliſh traders, (though Indians have nothing but what they get by hunting, and the goods are loaded with all the impoſitions fraud and knavery can contrive to inhance their value;) will not *induſtrious Engliſh farmers*, hereafter ſettled in thoſe countries, be much better able to pay for what ſhall be brought them in the way of fair commerce?

If it is aſked, *What* can ſuch farmers raiſe, wherewith to pay for the manufactures they may want from us? I anſwer, that the inland parts of America in queſtion are well known to be fitted for the production of hemp, flax, potaſh, and above all, ſilk; the ſouthern parts may produce olive-oil, raiſins, currants, indigo, and cochineal. Not to mention horſes and black cattle, which may eaſily be driven to the maritime markets, and at the ſame time aſſiſt in conveying other commodities.—That the commodities firſt mentioned, may eaſily, by water or land-carriage, be brought to the ſea-ports from interior America, will not ſeem incredible; when we reflect, that *hemp* formerly came from the Ukraine and moſt ſouthern parts of Ruſſia to Wologda, and down the Dwina to Archangel; and thence by a perilous navigation round the North Cape to England and other parts of Europe. It now comes from the

[The rivers and lakes of Canada perhaps render acceſſible (in land and water) a tract of almoſt 900,000 ſquare miles; the river Miſſiſſippi, another tract of nearly 600,000 ſquare miles; the ſettled parts of the Engliſh colonies ſcarcely extend over a tract of 300,000 ſquare miles. E.]

ſame country up the Dnieper and down the Duna ‡, with much land-carriage. Great part of the Ruſſia *iron*, no high-priced commodity, is brought 300 miles by land and water from the heart of Siberia. *Furs*, [the produce too of America] are brought to Amſterdam from all parts of Siberia, even the moſt remote, Kamſchatſka.—The ſame country furniſhes me with another inſtance of extended inland commerce. It is found worth while to keep up a mercantile communication between Pekin in China and Peterſburgh.—And none of theſe inſtances of inland commerce *exceed* thoſe of the courſes by which, at ſeveral periods, *the Whole trade of the Eaſt* was carried on. Before the proſperity of the Mamaluke dominion in Egypt fixed the ſtaple for the riches of the Eaſt at Cairo and Alexandria, (whither they were brought from the Red Sea) great part of thoſe commodities were carried to the cities of Caſhgar and Balk. (This gave birth to thoſe towns, that ſtill ſubſiſt upon the remains of their ancient opulence, amidſt a people and country equally wild.) From thence thoſe goods were carried down the Amû, (the ancient Oxus,) to the Caſpian Sea, and up the Wolga to Aſtrachan; from whence they were carried over to, and down the Don, to the mouth

‡ [I beg pardon for attempting to remind the reader that he muſt not confound the river Duna, with the river Dwina.—The fork of the Ohio is about 400 miles diſtant from the ſea, and the fork of the Miſſiſſippi about 900: It is 400 miles from Peterſburgh to Moſcow, and very conſiderably more than 4000 from Peterſburgh to Pekin. This is enough to juſtify Dr. Franklin's poſitions in the page above, without going into farther particulars. E.]

of that river; and thence again the Venetians directly, and the Genoeſe and Venetians indirectly, (by way of Kaffa and Trebiſonde,) diſperſed them through the Mediterranean and ſome other parts of Europe. Another part of thoſe goods was carried over-land from the Wolga to the rivers Duna and Neva; from both they were carried to the city of Wiſbuy in the Baltick, (ſo eminent for its ſea-laws); and from the city of Ladoga on the Neva, we are told they were even carried by the Dwina to Archangel; and from thence round the North Cape.—If iron and hemp will bear the charge of carriage from this inland country; *other metals* will, as well as iron; and certainly *ſilk*, ſince 3d. per lb. is not above 1 per cent on the value, and amounts to 28 l. per ton *.—If the *Growths* of a country find their way out of it; the *Manufactures* of the countries where they go, will infallibly find their way into it.

They who underſtand the œconomy and principles of manufactures, know, that it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh them in places not populous;—and even in thoſe that *are* populous, hardly poſſible to eſtabliſh them to the prejudice of the places *already in poſſeſſion of them.* Several attempts have been made in France and Spain, countenanced by the government, to draw from us and

* [I think I have been told, and upon the beſt authority, that a carriage has actually been eſtabliſhed at theſe rates, over land, to the Ohio ſettlement.—*Silk*, on account of its value and convenient bulk, was propoſed as a chief object of attention in this ſettlement. E.]

eſtabliſh in thoſe countries, our hard-ware and woollen manufactures; but without ſucceſs.—The reaſons are various. A manufacture is part of a great ſyſtem of commerce, which takes in conveniencies of various kinds; methods of providing materials of all ſorts, machines for expediting and facilitating labour, all the channels of correſpondence for vending the wares, the credit and confidence neceſſary to found and ſupport this correſpondence, the mutual aid of different artizans, and a thouſand other particulars, which time and long experience have *gradually* eſtabliſhed. A part of ſuch a ſyſtem cannot ſupport itſelf without the whole; and before the whole can be obtained the part periſhes. Manufactures, where they are in perfection, are carried on by a multiplicity of hands, each of which is expert only in his own part; no one of them a maſter of the whole; and, if by any means ſpirited away to a foreign country, he is loſt without his fellows. Then it is a matter of the extremeſt difficulty to perſuade a compleat ſet of workmen, ſkilled in all parts of a manufactory to leave their country together, and ſettle in a foreign land. Some of the idle and drunken may be enticed away; but theſe only diſappoint their employers, and ſerve to diſcourage the undertaking. If by royal munificence, and an expence that the profits of the trade alone would not bear, a compleat ſet of good and ſkilful hands are collected and carried over; they find ſo much of the ſyſtem imperfect, ſo many things wanting to carry on the trade to advantage, ſo many difficulties to overcome,

come, and the knot of hands ſo eaſily broken by death, diſſatisfaction and deſertion; that they and their employers are diſcouraged together, and the project vaniſhes into ſmoke.—Hence it happens, that eſtabliſhed manufactures are hardly ever loſt, but by foreign conqueſt, or by ſome eminent interior fault in manners or government; a bad police oppreſſing and diſcouraging the workmen, or religious perſecutions driving the ſober and induſtrious out of the country. There is, in ſhort, ſcarce a ſingle inſtance in hiſtory of the contrary, where manufactures have once taken firm root.—They ſometimes ſtart up in a new place; but are generally ſupported like exotic plants, at more expence than they are worth for any thing but curioſity; until theſe new ſeats become the refuge of the manufacturers driven from the old ones.—The conqueſt of Conſtantinople, and final reduction of the *Greek empire*, diſperſed many curious manufacturers into different parts of Chriſtendom. The former conqueſts of its provinces, had *before* done the ſame. The loſs of liberty in Verona, Milan, Florence, Piſa, Piſtoia, and other great cities of *Italy*; drove the manufacturers of woollen cloth into Spain and *Flanders*. The latter firſt loſt their trade and manufactures to Antwerp and the cities of *Brabant*; from whence, by perſecution for religion, they were ſent into Holland and England: [While] the civil wars during the minority of Charles the firſt of *Spain*, which ended in the loſs of the liberty of their great towns; ended too in the

loſs of the manufactures of Toledo, Segovia, Salamanca, Medina del campo, &c. The revocation of the *edict of Nantes*, communicated, to all the Proteſtant parts of Europe, the paper, ſilk, and other valuable manufacturers of France; almoſt peculiar at that time to that country, and till then in vain attempted elſewhere.—To be convinced that it is not ſoil and climate, or even freedom from taxes, that determines the reſidence of manufacturers, we need only turn our eyes on *Holland*; where a multitude of manufactures are ſtill carried on (perhaps more than on the ſame extent of territory any where in Europe) and ſold on terms upon which they cannot be had in any other part of the world.—And this too is true of thoſe *growths*, which, by their nature and the labour required to raiſe them, come the neareſt to manufactures.

A to the common-place objection to the North American ſettlements, that they are *in the ſame climate, and their produce the ſame as that of England*;—in the firſt place it is not true; it is particularly not ſo of the countries now likely to be added to our ſettlements; and of our preſent colonies, the products, lumber, tobacco, rice, and indigo, great articles of commerce, do not interfere with the products of England:—in the next place, a man muſt know very little of the trade of the world, who does not know, that the greater part of it is carried on between countries whoſe climate differs very little. Even the trade between the different parts of theſe Britiſh iſlands, is greatly

ſuperior

ſuperior to that between England and all the Weſt India iſlands put together ‡.

If I have been ſucceſsful in proving that a conſiderable commerce may and will ſubſiſt between us and our future moſt inland ſettlements in North America, notwithſtanding their diſtance; I have more than half proved no *other inconveniency will ariſe* from their diſtance. Many men in ſuch a country, muſt "know," muſt "think," and muſt "care" about the country they chiefly trade with. The juridical and other connections of government are yet a faſter hold than even commercial ties, and ſpread directly and indirectly far and wide. Buſineſs to be ſolicited and cauſes depending, create a great intercourſe even where private property is *not* divided in different countries;—yet this diviſion *will* always ſubſiſt, where different countries are ruled by the ſame government. Where a man has landed property both in the mother country and a province, he will almoſt always live in the mother country: This, though there were no trade, is ſingly a ſufficient gain. It is ſaid, that Ireland pays near a million ſterling annually to its abſentees in England: The balance of trade from Spain, or even Portugal, is ſcarcely equal to this.

Let it not be ſaid we have *no abſentees* from North America. There are many, to the writer's knowledge;—and if there are at preſent but few of them that diſtinguiſh themſelves here by great

‡ [But why may not a difference of *circumſtances* produce a trade, as well as a difference of climate?—*Climate* itſelf has its effect only by *ſecuring* this difference of circumſtances. E.]

expence, it is owing to the mediocrity of fortune among the inhabitants of the Northern colonies; and a more equal diviſion of landed property, than in the Weſt India iſlands, ſo that there are as yet but few large eſtates. But if thoſe who have ſuch eſtates, reſide upon and take care of them themſelves, are they worſe ſubjects than they would be if they lived idly in England?—Great merit is aſſumed for the gentlemen of the Weſt Indies ‡, on the ſcore of their reſiding and ſpending their money in England. I would not depreciate that merit; it is conſiderable; for they might, if they pleaſed, ſpend their money in France: but the difference between their ſpending it here and at home, is not ſo great. What do they ſpend it in when they are here, but the produce and manufactures of this country;—and would they not do the ſame if they were at home? Is it of any great importance to the Engliſh † farmer, whether the Weſt India gentleman comes to London and eats his beef, pork, and tongues, freſh; or has them brought to him in the Weſt Indies ſalted? whether he eats his Engliſh cheeſe and butter, or drinks his Engliſh ale, at London or in Barbadoes? Is the clothier's, or the mercer's, or the cutler's, or the toyman's profit leſs, for their goods being worn and conſumed by the ſame perſons reſiding on the other ſide of the ocean? Would not the profits of the merchant and mariner be rather greater, and ſome addition made to our naviga-

‡ Remarks, p. 47, 48, &c.

† [Whether our author meaned the Engliſh or Iriſh farmer, eventually perhaps, he thought them one and the ſame. E.]

tion,

tion, ſhips and ſeamen ?—If the North American gentleman ſtays in his own country, and lives there in that degree of luxury and expence with regard to the uſe of Britiſh manufactures, that his fortune entitles him to; may not his example (from the imitation of ſuperiors, ſo natural to mankind) ſpread the uſe of thoſe manufactures among hundreds of families around him; and occaſion a much greater demand for them, than it would do if he ſhould remove and live in London ? —However this may be, if in our views of immediate advantage, it ſeems preferable that the gentlemen of large fortunes in North America ſhould reſide much in England; it is what may ſurely be expected, as faſt as ſuch fortunes are acquired there. Their having " colleges of their " own for the education of their youth," will not prevent it: A little knowledge and learning acquired, increaſes the appetite for more, and will make the converſation of the learned on this ſide the water more ſtrongly deſired. Ireland has its univerſity likewiſe; yet this does not prevent the immenſe pecuniary benefit we receive from that kingdom. And there will always be in the conveniencies of life, the politeneſs, the pleaſures, the magnificence of the reigning country, many other attractions beſides thoſe of learning, to draw men of ſubſtance there, where they can, (apparently at leaſt) have the beſt bargain of happineſs for their money.

Our *trade to the Weſt India iſlands* is undoubtedly a valuable one: but whatever is the amount of

of it, it *has long been at a ſtand.* Limited as our ſugar planters are by the ſcantineſs of territory, they cannot increaſe much beyond their preſent number; and this is an evil, as I ſhall ſhow hereafter, that will be little helped by our keeping Guadaloupe.—The trade to our Northern Colonies, is not only greater, but yearly increaſing with the increaſe of people: and even in a greater proportion, as the people increaſe in wealth and the ability of ſpending, as well as in numbers *.

* The writer has [ſince] obtained accounts of the exports to *North America*, and the *Weſt India Iſlands*; by which it appears, that there has been ſome increaſe of trade to thoſe Iſlands as well as to North America, though in a much leſs degree. The following extract from theſe accounts will ſhow the reader at one view the amount of the exports to each, in two different terms of five years; the terms taken at ten years diſtance from each other, to ſhow the increaſe, viz.

First Term, from 1744 to 1748, inclusive.

	Northern Colonies.	*Weſt India Iſlands.*
1744	£.640,114 12 4	£.796,112 17 9
1745	534,316 2 5	503,669 19 9
1746	754,945 4 3	472,994 19 7
1747	726,648 5 5	856,463 18 6
1748	830,243 16 9	734,095 15 3
Total,	£. 3,486,268 1 2	Tot. £.3,363,337 10 10
		Difference, 122,930 10 4
		£. 3,486,268 1 2

Second Term, from 1754 to 1758, inclusive.

	Northern Colonies.	*Weſt India Iſlands.*
1754	1,246,615 1 11	685,675 3 0
1755	1,177,848 6 10	694,667 13 3
1756	1,428,720 18 10	733,458 16 3
1757	1,727,924 2 10	776,488 0 6
1758	1,832,948 13 10	877,571 19 11
Total,	£. 7,414,057 4 3	Tot. £.3,767,841 12 11
		Difference 3,646,215 11 4
		£. 7,414,057 4 3

—I have already ſaid, that *our people in the Northern Colonies* double in about 25 years, excluſive of

In the firſt term, total of Weſt India iſlands,	3,363,337	10	10
In the ſecond term, ditto, - - - - -	3,767,841	12	11
Increaſe, only £.	0,404,504	2	1
In the firſt term, total for northern Colonies,	3,486,268	1	2
In the ſecond term, ditto, - - - - -	7,414,057	4	3
Increaſe, £.	3,927,789	3	1

By theſe accounts it appears, that the exports to the Weſt India iſlands, and to the northern colonies, were in the firſt term nearly equal; (the difference being only 122,936l. 10s. 4d.) and in the ſecond term, the exports to thoſe iſlands had only increaſed 404,504l. 2s. 1d.—Whereas the increaſe to the northern colonies is 3,927,789l. 3s. 1d. almoſt *four millions.*

Some part of this increaſed demand for Engliſh goods, may be aſcribed to the armies and fleets we have had both in North America and the Weſt Indies; not ſo much for what is conſumed by the ſoldiery; their clothing, ſtores, ammunition, &c. ſent from hence on account of the government, being (as is ſuppoſed) not included in theſe accounts of merchandize exported; but, as the war has occaſioned a great plenty of money in America, many of the inhabitants have increaſed their expence.

N. B. Theſe accounts do not include any exports from *Scotland* to America, which are doubtleſs proportionably conſiderable; nor the exports from *Ireland.*

[I ſhall carry on this calculation where Dr. Franklin left it. For four years, from 1770 to 1773 incluſively, the ſame average *annual* exports to the ſame ports of the Weſt Indies, is 994,463l.; and to the ſame ports of the North American plantations 2,919,669l. But the annual averages of the firſt and ſecond terms of the former, were 672,668l. and 753,568l: of the latter, 697,254l. and 1,482,811l.

In ten years therefore (taking the middle years of the terms) the North American trade is found to have *doubled* the Weſt Indian: in the next ſixteen years it becomes greater by *three-fold.*—With reſpect to itſelf, the North American trade in 32 years (taking the extremes of the terms) has quadrupled; while the Weſt Indian trade increaſed only one half; of which increaſe I apprehend Jamaica

of the acceſſion of ſtrangers. That I ſpeak within bounds, I appeal to the authentic accounts frequently required by the board of trade, and tranſmitted to that board by the reſpective governors; of which accounts I ſhall ſelect one as a ſample, being that from the colony of Rhode-Iſland *; a colony that of all the others receives the leaſt addition from ſtrangers.—For the increaſe of our *trade to thoſe colonies*, I refer to the accounts frequently laid before Parliament, by the officers of the cuſtoms, and to the cuſtom-houſe books: from which I have alſo ſelected one account, that

maica has given more than $\frac{1}{4}$, chiefly in conſequence of the quiet produced by the peace with the maroon negroes.—Had the Weſt Indian trade continued ſtationary, the North American trade would have quadrupled with reſpect to it, in 26 years: and this, notwithſtanding the checks given to the latter, by their non-importation agreements and the encouragement of their own manufactures.

There has been an acceſſion to both theſe trades, produced by the ceſſions at the treaty of Paris; not touched upon by Dr. Franklin. The average *annual* export-trade, from 1770 to 1773 incluſively, to the ceded Weſt India iſlands, amounted to 258,2991: to the ceded North American territory it has been 280,4231. See Sir Charles Whitworth's State of Trade. E.]

* *Copy of the Report of Governor Hopkins to the Board of Trade, on the Numbers of People in Rhode-Iſland.*

In obedience to your lordſhips' commands, I have cauſed the within account to be taken by officers under oath. By it there appears to be in this colony at this time 35,939 white perſons, and 4697, blacks, chiefly negroes.

In the year 1730, by order of the then lords commiſſioners of trade and plantations, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, and then there appeared to be 15,302 white perſons, and 2633 blacks.

Again in the year 1748, by like order, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, by which it appears there were at that time 29,755 white perſons, and 4373 blacks.

Colony of Rhode Iſland, Dec. 24, 1755. STEPHEN HOPKINS.

of the trade from England (excluſive of Scotland) to Penſylvania †; a colony moſt remarkable for the plain frugal manner of living of its inhabitants, and the moſt ſuſpected of carrying on manufactures, on account of the number of German artizans, who are known to have tranſplanted themſelves into that country; though even theſe, in truth, when they come there, generally apply themſelves to agriculture, as the ſureſt ſupport and moſt advantageous employment. By this account it appears, that the exports to that province have in 28 years, increaſed nearly in the proportion of 17 to 1; whereas the people themſelves, who by other authentic accounts appear to double their numbers (the ſtrangers who ſettle there included) in about 16 years, cannot in the 28 years have increaſed in a greater proportion than as 4 to 1. The additional demand then, and conſumption of goods from England, of 13 parts in 17 more than the additional number would require, muſt be

† *An Account of the Value of the Exports from England to Penſylvania, in one Year, taken at different Periods, viz.*

In	1723	they amounted only to - -	£. 15,992 : 19 : 4
	1730	they were - - - - - -	48,592 : 7 : 5
	1737	- - - - - - - - - - -	56,690 : 6 : 7
	1742	- - - - - - - - - - -	75,295 : 3 : 4
	1747	- - - - - - - - - - -	82,404 : 17 : 7
	1752	- - - - - - - - - - -	201,666 : 19 : 11
	1757	- - - - - - - - - - -	268,426 : 6 : 6

N. B. The accounts for 1758 and 1759, are not yet compleated; but thoſe acquainted with the North American trade, know, that the increaſe in thoſe two years, has been in a ſtill greater proportion; the laſt year being ſuppoſed to exceed any former year by a third; and this owing to the increaſed ability of the people to ſpend, from the greater quantities of money circulating among them by the war.

owing

owing to this; that the people having by their induſtry mended their circumſtances, are enabled to indulge themſelves in finer clothes, better furniture, and a more general uſe of all our manufactures than heretofore.

In fact, the occaſion for Engliſh goods in North America, and the inclination to have and uſe them, is, and muſt be for ages to come, much greater than the ability of the people to pay for them; they muſt therefore, as they now do, deny themſelves many things they would otherwiſe chuſe to have, or increaſe their induſtry to obtain them. —And thus, if they ſhould at any time manufacture ſome coarſe article, which on account of its bulk or ſome other circumſtance, cannot ſo well be brought to them from Britain; it only enables them the better to pay for finer goods, that *otherwiſe* they could not indulge themſelves in: So that the exports thither are not diminiſhed by ſuch manufacture, but rather increaſed.—The ſingle article of manufacture in theſe colonies mentioned by the Remarker, is *hats* made in New-England. It is true there have been, ever ſince the firſt ſettlement of that country, a few hatters there; drawn thither probably at firſt by the facility of getting beaver, while the woods were but little cleared, and there was plenty of thoſe animals. The caſe is greatly altered now. The beaver ſkins are not now to be had in New-England, but from very remote places and at great prices. The trade is accordingly declining there; ſo that, far from being able to make hats in any quantity for

for exportation, they cannot ſupply their home demand; and it is well known that ſome thouſand dozens are ſent thither yearly from London, Briſtol, and Liverpool; and ſold there cheaper than the inhabitants can make them of equal goodneſs. —In fact, the colonies are ſo little ſuited for eſtabliſhing of manufactures, that they are continually loſing the few branches they accidentally gain. The working braſiers, cutlers, and pewterers, as well as hatters, who have happened to go over from time to time and ſettle in the colonies; gradually drop the working part of their buſineſs, and import their reſpective goods from England, whence they can have them cheaper and better than they can make them. They continue their ſhops indeed, in the ſame way of dealing; but become *ſellers* of braſiery, cutlery, pewter, hats, &c. brought from England, inſtead of being *makers* of thoſe goods.

5. [*The American colonies* not dangerous *in their nature to Great Britain.*]

Thus much as to the apprehenſion of our colonies becoming uſeleſs to us. I ſhall next conſider the other ſuppoſition, that their growth may render them *dangerous.*—Of this, I own, I have not the leaſt conception, when I conſider that we have already *fourteen ſeparate governments* on the maritime coaſt of the continent; and if we extend our ſettlements, ſhall probably have as many more behind them on the inland ſide. Thoſe we now have, are not only under different governors, but have different

different forms of government, different laws, different intereſts, and ſome of them different religious perſuaſions and different manners.—Their jealouſy of each other is ſo great, that however neceſſary an union of the colonies has long been, for their common defence and ſecurity againſt their enemies, and how ſenſible ſoever each colony has been of that neceſſity; yet they have never been able to effect ſuch an union among themſelves; nor even to agree in requeſting the mother country to eſtabliſh it for them. Nothing but the immediate command of the crown has been able to produce even the imperfect union, but lately ſeen there, of the forces of ſome colonies. If they could not agree to unite for their defence againſt the French and Indians, who were perpetually haraſſing their ſettlements, burning their villages, and murdering their people; can it reaſonably be ſuppoſed there is any danger of their uniting againſt their own nation, which protects and encourages them, with which they have ſo many connections and ties of blood, intereſt and affection, and which, it is well known, they all love much more than they love one another?

In ſhort, there are ſo many cauſes that muſt operate to prevent it, that I will venture to ſay, an union amongſt them for ſuch a purpoſe, is not merely improbable; it is impoſſible. And if the union of the whole is impoſſible, the attempt of a part muſt be madneſs; as thoſe colonies that did not join the rebellion, would join the mother country in ſuppreſſing it.—When I ſay ſuch an union

union is impoſſible, I mean, without the moſt grievous tyranny and oppreſſion. People who have property in a country which they may loſe, and privileges which they may endanger, are generally diſpoſed to be quiet; and even to bear much, rather than hazard all. While the government is mild and juſt, while important civil and religious rights are ſecure, ſuch ſubjects will be dutiful and obedient. The waves do not riſe but when the winds blow.

What ſuch an adminiſtration as the Duke of Alva's in the Netherlands, might produce, I know not; but this I think I have a right to deem impoſſible.—And yet there were two very manifeſt differences between that caſe, and ours; and both are in our favour. The *firſt*, that Spain had already united the ſeventeen provinces under one viſible government, though the ſtates continued independent: The *ſecond*, that the inhabitants of thoſe provinces were of a nation, not only different from, but utterly unlike the Spaniards. Had the Netherlands been peopled from Spain, the worſt of oppreſſion had probably not provoked them to wiſh a ſeparation of government. It might, and probably would have ruined the country; but would never have produced an independent ſovereignty.—In fact, neither the very worſt of governments, the worſt of politics in the laſt century; nor the total abolition of their remaining liberty, in the provinces of *Spain itſelf*, in the preſent; have produced any independency [in Spain] that could be ſupported. The ſame may be obſerved of *France*.

And let it not be ſaid that the neighbourhood of theſe to the ſeat of government has prevented a ſeparation.—While our ſtrength at ſea continues, the banks of the Ohio, (in point of eaſy and expeditious conveyance of troops) are nearer to London, than the remote parts of France and Spain to their reſpective capitals; and much nearer than Connaught and Ulſter were in the days of Queen Elizabeth.—No body foretels the diſſolution of the Ruſſian monarchy from its extent; yet I will venture to ſay, the eaſtern parts of it are already much more inacceſſible from Peterſburgh, than the country on the Miſſiſſippi is from London; I mean more men, in leſs time, might be conveyed the latter than the former diſtance. The rivers Oby, Jeneſea and Lena, do not facilitate the communication half ſo well by their courſe, nor are they half ſo practicable, as the American rivers. To this I ſhall only add the obſervation of Machiavel, in his Prince; that a government ſeldom long preſerves its dominion over thoſe who are foreigners to it; who, on the other hand, fall with great eaſe, and continue inſeparably annexed to the government of their own nation: which he proves by the fate of the Engliſh conqueſts in France.—Yet with all theſe diſadvantages, ſo difficult is it to overturn an eſtabliſhed government, that it was not without the aſſiſtance of France and England, that the United Provinces ſupported themſelves: which teaches us, that

6. [*The*

6. [*The French remaining in Canada, an* encouragement to diſaffections *in the Britiſh Colonies.—If they prove a* check, *that check of the* moſt barbarous nature.]

If the viſionary danger of independence in our colonies is to be feared; nothing is more likely to render it ſubſtantial, than the neighbourhood of foreigners at enmity with the ſovereign government, capable of giving either aid ‡ *or an* aſylum, *as the event ſhall require.*—Yet againſt even theſe diſadvantages, did Spain preſerve almoſt ten provinces, merely thro' their want of union; which indeed could never

‡ [The *aid* Dr. Franklin alludes to, muſt probably have conſiſted in early and full ſupplies of arms, officers, intelligence, and trade of export and of import, through the river St. Lawrence, on riſques both public and private; in the encouragement of ſplendid promiſes and a great ally; in the paſſage from Canada to the back ſettlements, being *ſhut* to the *Britiſh forces*; in the quiet of the *great body* of Indians; in the ſupport of emiſſaries and diſcontented citizens; in loans and ſubſidies to congreſs, in ways *profitable to France*; in a refuge to be granted them in caſe of defeat, in vacant lands, as ſettlers; in the probability of war commencing earlier between England and France, at the gulph of St. Lawrence, (when the ſhipping taken, were *rightfully* addreſſed to Frenchmen,) than in the preſent caſe.—All this might have happened, *as ſoon* as America's diſtaſte of the ſovereign, had exceeded the fear of the foreigner; a circumſtance frequently ſeen poſſible in hiſtory, and which our miniſters took care ſhould not be wanting.

This explanation would have required apology for its inſertion; were not the opinion pretty common in England, that *had not the French been removed from Canada, the revolt of America never would have taken place.*—Why then were the French *not left* in Canada, at the peace of 1763? Or, ſince they *were not* left there, why was the American diſpute begun?—Yet in one ſenſe perhaps this opinion is true; for *had* the French been left in Canada, miniſters would not only have *ſooner* felt, but *ſooner* have ſeen, the ſtrange fatality of their plans. E.]

have taken place among the others, but for cauſes, ſome of which are in our caſe impoſſible, and others it is impious to ſuppoſe poſſible.

The Romans well underſtood that policy, which teaches the ſecurity ariſing to the chief government from ſeparate ſtates among the governed; when they reſtored the liberties of the ſtates of Greece, (oppreſſed but united under Macedon) by an edict, that every ſtate ſhould live under its own laws *. They did not even name a governor. Independence of each other, and ſeparate intereſts, (though among a people united by common manners, language, and I may ſay religion; inferior neither in wiſdom, bravery, nor their love of liberty, to the Romans themſelves;) was all the ſecurity the ſovereigns wiſhed for their ſovereignty. It is true, they did not call themſelves ſovereigns; they ſet no value on the title; they were contented with poſſeſſing the thing. And poſſeſs it they did, even without a ſtanding army:——(what can be a ſtronger proof of the ſecurity of their poſſeſſion?) And yet by a policy ſimilar to this throughout, was the Roman world ſubdued and held: a world compoſed of above an hundred languages and ſets of manners, different from thoſe of their maſters ‡.

—Yet

* [" All the Greek ſtates, whether in Europe or Aſia, had their " liberty and their own laws, &c." E.] Livy, book 33. c. 30.

‡ When the Romans had ſubdued Macedon and Illyricum, they were both formed into republics by a decree of the ſenate; and Macedon was thought ſafe from the danger of a revolution, by being divided, into a diviſion common among the Romans, as we learn from the accounts of the *tetrarchs* in ſcripture. [" In the firſt inſtance, " it was their pleaſure that the Macedonians and Illyrians ſhould be " free;

—Yet this dominion was unſhakeable, till the loſs of liberty and corruption of manners in the ſovereign ſtate, overturned it.

But what is the prudent policy inculcated by the Remarker, to obtain this end, ſecurity of dominion over our colonies? It is, to leave the French *in Canada,* to "check" their growth; *for otherwiſe our people may "increaſe infinitely from all cauſes *."* We have already ſeen in what manner the French and their Indians check the growth of our colonies. —It is a modeſt word, this, *check,* for maſſacring men, women and children. The writer would, if he could, hide from himſelf as well as from the public, the horror ariſing from ſuch a propoſal, by couching it in general terms: 'tis no wonder he thought it a "ſubject not fit for diſcuſſion" in his letter; though he recommends it as "a point "that ſhould be the conſtant object of the miniſ-"ter's attention!"—But if Canada is reſtored on

"free; that it might be clear to all nations, that the arms of the Roman "people did not bring ſlavery upon the free, but on the contrary, "freedom to thoſe who were enſlaved. Nations in a ſtate of liberty, "were to feel that liberty, ſafe and perpetual under the patronage "of the people of Rome: Thoſe that lived under kings, were "to find their kings milder and juſter at the inſtant, out of reſpect "to the Roman people; and if war ſhould at any time take place "between the Roman people and their kings, they were to believe "that it muſt end in victory to the Romans and liberty to them-"ſelves.—It was their pleaſure alſo that Macedon ſhould be divided "into *four diſtricts,* and each have a ſeparate council of its own: "and that it ſhould pay to the Roman people only *half the tribute,* "it had been uſed to pay to their kings. —Their determinations "were of the ſame temper reſpecting *Illyrium.*" E.] Livy, book 45, c. 18.

* Remarks, p. 50, 51.

this principle; will not Britain be guilty of all the blood to be ſhed, all the murders to be committed, in order to check this dreaded growth of our own people? Will not this be telling the French in plain terms, that the horrid barbarities they perpetrate with their Indians on our coloniſts, are agreeable to us; and that they need not apprehend the reſentment of a government, with whoſe views they ſo happily concur? Will not the colonies view it in this light? Will they have reaſon to conſider themſelves any longer as ſubjects and children; when they find their cruel enemies halloo'd upon them by the country from whence they ſprung; the government that owes them protection, as it requires their obedience? Is not this the moſt likely means of driving them into the arms of the French, who can invite them by an offer of that ſecurity, their own government chuſes not to afford them?—I would not be thought to inſinuate that the Remarker wants humanity. I know how little many good-natured perſons are affected by the diſtreſſes of people at a diſtance, and whom they do not know. There are even thoſe, who, being preſent, can ſympathize ſincerely with the grief of a lady on the ſudden death of a favourite bird; and yet can read of the ſinking of a city in Syria with very little concern.—If it be, after all, thought neceſſary to check the growth of our colonies; give me leave to propoſe a method leſs cruel. It is a method of which we have an example in ſcripture. The murder of huſbands, of wives, of brothers, ſiſters, and children, whoſe pleaſing

ſociety

ſociety has been for ſome time enjoyed, affects deeply the reſpective ſurviving relations: but grief for the death of a child juſt born is ſhort, and eaſily ſupported. The method I mean is that which was dictated by the Egyptian policy, when the "infinite increaſe" of the children of Iſrael was apprehended as dangerous to the ſtate *. Let an act of parliament then be made, enjoining the colony midwives to ſtifle in the birth every third or fourth child. By this means you may keep the colonies to their preſent ſize. And if they were under the hard alternative of ſubmitting to one or the other of theſe ſchemes for checking their growth, I dare anſwer for them, they would prefer the latter.

But all this debate about the propriety or impropriety of keeping or reſtoring Canada, is poſſibly too early. We have taken the capital indeed, but the country is yet far from being in our poſſeſſion; and perhaps never will be: for if our M——rs are perſuaded by ſuch counſellors as the Remarker, that the French there are "not the "worſt of neighbours;" and that if we had conquered Canada, we ought for our own ſakes to reſtore it, as a check to the growth of our colonies; I am then afraid we ſhall never take it. For there

* And Pharoah ſaid unto his people, behold the people of the children of Iſrael are more and mightier than we; come on, let us deal wiſely with them; leſt they multiply; and it come to paſs that when there falleth out any war, they join alſo unto our enemies and fight againſt us, and ſo get them up out of the land.—And the king ſpake to the Hebrew midwives, &c. Exodus, chap. 1.

are many ways of avoiding the completion of the conqueſt, that will be leſs exceptionable and leſs odious than the giving it up.

7. [*Canada eaſily peopled*, without draining Great Britain *of any of its inhabitants*.]

The objection I have often heard, that if we had Canada, we could not people it, without draining Britain of its inhabitants; is founded on ignorance of the nature of population in new countries. When we firſt began to colonize in America, it was neceſſary to ſend people, and to ſend ſeed-corn; but it is not now neceſſary that we ſhould furniſh, for a new colony, either one or the other. The annual increment alone of our preſent colonies, without diminiſhing their numbers, or requiring a man from hence; is ſufficient in ten years to fill Canada with double the number of Engliſh that it now has of French inhabitants *.—Thoſe who are proteſtants among the French, will probably chooſe to remain under the Engliſh government; many will chooſe to remove, if they can be allowed to ſell their lands, improvements and effects: the reſt in that thin-ſettled country, will in leſs than half a century, from the crowds of Engliſh ſettling round and among them, be blended and incorporated with our people both in language and manners.

* In fact, there has not gone from Britain [itſelf] to our colonies theſe 20 years paſt, to ſettle there, ſo many as 10 families a year; the new ſettlers are either the offſpring of the old, or emigrants from Germany, or the north of Ireland. [N. B. Written in 1760 or 1761. E.]

8. [*The*

8. [*The merits of Guadaloupe to Great Britain* over-valued; *yet likely to be paid* much dearer for, *than Canada.*]

In Guadaloupe the caſe is ſomewhat different; and though I am far from thinking ‡ we have ſugar-land enough †, I cannot think Guadaloupe is ſo deſirable an increaſe of it, as other objects the enemy would probably be infinitely more ready to part with.—A country *fully inhabited* by any nation, is no proper poſſeſſion for another of different language, manners and religion. It is hardly ever tenable at leſs expence than it is worth. —But the iſle of *Cayenne, and its appendix, Equinoctial-France,* having but very few inhabitants, and theſe therefore eaſily removed; would indeed be an acquiſition every way ſuitable to our ſituation and deſires. This would hold all that migrate from Barbadoes, the Leeward Iſlands, or Jamaica. It would certainly recall into an Engliſh government (in which there would be room for millions) all who have before ſettled or purchaſed in Martinico, Guadaloupe, Santa-Cruz or St. John's; except ſuch as know not the value of an Engliſh go-

‡ Remarks, p. 30, 34.

† It is often ſaid we have plenty of ſugar-land ſtill unemployed in Jamaica: but thoſe who are well acquainted with that iſland, know, that the remaining vacant land in it is generally ſituated among mountains, rocks and gullies, that make carriage impracticable, ſo that no profitable uſe can be made of it; unleſs the price of ſugars ſhould ſo greatly increaſe, as to enable the planter to make very expenſive roads, by blowing up rocks, erecting bridges, &c. every 2 or 300 yards. [Our author was ſomewhat miſinformed here. E.]

vernment,

vernment, and ſuch I am ſure are not worth recalling.

But ſhould we keep Guadaloupe, we are told it would *enable us to export* 300,000 *l. in ſugars.* Admit it to be true, though perhaps the amazing increaſe of Engliſh conſumption might ſtop moſt of it here,—to whoſe profit is this to redound? To the profit of the French inhabitants of the iſland: except a ſmall part that ſhould fall to the ſhare of the Engliſh purchaſers, but whoſe whole purchaſe-money muſt firſt be added to the wealth and circulation of France. I grant, however, much of this 300,000 *l.* would be expended in Britiſh manufactures. Perhaps, too, a few of the land-owners of Guadaloupe might dwell and ſpend their fortunes in Britain, (though probably much fewer than of the inhabitants of North America.) I admit the advantage ariſing to us from theſe circumſtances, (as far as they go) in the caſe of Guadaloupe, as well as in that of our other Weſt India ſettlements.—Yet even this conſumption is little better than that of an allied nation would be, who ſhould take our manufactures and ſupply us with ſugar, and put us to no great expence in defending the place of growth.—But, though our *own* colonies expend among us almoſt the whole produce of our ſugar *, *can we or ought we* to promiſe ourſelves this will be the caſe of Guadaloupe? One 100,000 *l.* will ſupply them with Britiſh manufactures; and ſuppoſing we can effectually prevent the introduction of thoſe of

* Remarks, p. 47.

France,

France, (which is morally impoſſible in a country uſed to them) the other 200,000 l. will ſtill be ſpent in France, in the education of their children and ſupport of themſelves; or elſe be laid up there, where they will always think their home to be.

Beſides this conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, *much is ſaid of the benefit we ſhall have from the* ſituation *of Guadaloupe*; and we are told of a trade to the Caraccas and Spaniſh Main.—In what reſpect Guadaloupe is better ſituated for this trade than Jamaica, or even any of our other iſlands, I am at a loſs to gueſs. I believe it to be not ſo well ſituated for that of the windward coaſt, as Tobago and St. Lucia; which in this, as well as other reſpects, would be more valuable poſſeſſions, and which, I doubt not, the peace will ſecure to us. Nor is it nearly ſo well ſituated for that of the reſt of the Spaniſh Main as Jamaica.—As to the greater ſafety of our trade by the poſſeſſion of Guadaloupe; experience has convinced us, that in reducing a ſingle iſland, or even more, we ſtop the privateering buſineſs but little. Privateers ſtill ſubſiſt, in equal if not greater numbers, and carry the veſſels into Martinico, which before it was more convenient to carry into Guadaloupe. Had we all the Caribbees, it is true, they would in thoſe parts be without ſhelter.

Yet upon the whole I ſuppoſe it to be a doubtful point, and well worth conſideration, whether our obtaining poſſeſſion of all the Caribbees, would be more than a temporary benefit; as it would neceſſarily ſoon fill the French part of Hiſpaniola with

with French inhabitants; and thereby render it five times more valuable in time of peace, and little leſs than impregnable in time of war; and would probably end in a few years in the uniting the whole of that great and fertile iſland under a French government. It is agreed on all hands, that our conqueſt of St. Chriſtopher's, and driving the French from thence, firſt furniſhed Hiſpaniola with ſkilful and ſubſtantial planters, and was conſequently the firſt occaſion of its preſent opulence.—On the other hand, I will hazard an opinion, that valuable as the French poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies are, and undeniable the advantages they derive from them, there is ſomewhat to be weighed in the oppoſite ſcale. They cannot at preſent make war with England, without expoſing thoſe advantages, while divided among the numerous iſlands they now have, much more than they would, were they poſſeſſed of St. Domingo only; their own ſhare of which would, if well cultivated, grow more ſugar, than is now grown in all their Weſt India iſlands.

I have before ſaid I do not deny the utility of the conqueſt, or even of our future poſſeſſion of Guadaloupe, if not bought too dear. The trade of the Weſt Indies is one of our moſt valuable trades. Our poſſeſſions there deſerve our greateſt care and attention. So do thoſe of North America.—I ſhall not enter into the invidious taſk of comparing their due eſtimation. It would be a very long and a very diſagreeable one, to run through every thing material on this head.—It is enough to our pre-

ſent point, if I have ſhown, that the value of North America is capable of an immenſe increaſe, by an acquiſition and meaſures, that muſt neceſſarily have an effect the direct contrary of what we have been induſtriouſly taught to fear; and that Guadaloupe is, in point of advantage, but a very ſmall addition to our Weſt India poſſeſſions; rendered many ways leſs valuable to us, than it is to the French; who will probably ſet more value upon it, than upon a country [Canada] that is much more valuable to us than to them.

There is a great deal more to be ſaid on all the parts of theſe ſubjects; but as it would carry me into a detail that I fear would tire the patience of my readers, and which I am not without apprehenſions I have done already; I ſhall reſerve what remains till I dare venture again on the indulgence of the public.

Remarks

Remarks and Facts relative to the American Paper-money *.

IN the REPORT of the BOARD of TRADE, dated Feb. 9, 1764, the following Reaſons are given for *reſtraining the emiſſion* of paper-bills of credit in America, as *a legal tender*.

1. "That it *carries the gold and ſilver out* of the "province, and ſo ruins the country; as *experi-* "*ence has ſhewn*, in every colony where it has "been practiſed in any great degree.

2. "That the *merchants* trading to America "*have ſuffered* and loſt by it.

3. "That the reſtriction [of it] *has had a be-* "*neficial effect* in New-England.

4. "That every *medium of trade ſhould have an* "*intrinſic value*, which paper-money has not. "Gold and ſilver are therefore the fitteſt for this "medium, as they are an equivalent; which "paper never can be.

* [The beſt account I can give of the occaſion of the *Report*, to which this paper is a reply, is as follows.—During the war there had been a conſiderable and unuſual trade to America, in conſequence of the great fleets and armies on foot there, and the clandeſtine dealings with the enemy, who were cut off from their own ſupplies. This made great debts. The briſkneſs of the trade ceaſing with the war, the merchants were anxious for payment; which occaſioned ſome confuſion in the colonies, and ſtirred up a clamour here againſt *paper-money*. The board of trade, of which lord Hilſborough was the chief, joined in this oppoſition to paper-money, as appears by the report. —Dr. Franklin being aſked to draw up an anſwer to their report, wrote the paper given above. E.]

5. "That

5. " That *debtors* in the aſſemblies, make " paper-money with *fraudulent views.*

6. " That in the middle colonies, where the " credit of the paper-money has been beſt ſup- " ported, the bills have *never kept to their nominal* " *value* in circulation; but have conſtantly de- " preciated to a certain degree, whenever the " quantity has been increaſed."

To conſider theſe Reaſons in their order; the firſt is,

1. " *That paper-money* carries the gold and ſilver out *of the province, and ſo ruins the country*; *as* experience has ſhewn, *in every colony where it has been practiſed in any great degree.*"—This opinion, of its ruining the country, ſeems to be merely ſpeculative, or not otherwiſe founded than upon miſinformation in the matter of fact. The truth is, that the balance of their trade with Britain being greatly againſt them, the gold and ſilver is drawn out to pay that balance; and then the neceſſity of ſome medium of trade has induced the making of paper-money, which could *not* be carried away. Thus, if carrying out all the gold and ſilver ruins a country, every colony was ruined before it made paper-money.—But, far from being ruined by it, the colonies that have made uſe of paper-money, have been, and are all, in a thriving condition. The debt indeed to Britain has increaſed, becauſe their numbers, and of courſe their trade, have increaſed; for all trade having always a proportion of debt outſtanding, which

is

is paid in its turn, while freſh debt is contracted, the proportion of debt naturally increaſes as the trade increaſes; but the improvement and increaſe of eſtates in the colonies has been in a greater proportion than their debt.—*New England*, particularly, in 1696, (about the time they began the uſe of paper-money,) had in all its four provinces but 130 churches or congregations; in 1760 they were 530. The number of farms and buildings there, is increaſed in proportion to the numbers of people; and the goods exported to them from England in 1750, before the reſtraint took place, were near five times as much as before they had paper-money.—*Penſylvania*, before it made any paper-money, was totally ſtript of its gold and ſilver; though they had from time to time, like the neighbouring colonies, agreed to take gold and ſilver coins at higher and higher nominal values, in hopes of drawing money into, and retaining it, for the internal uſes of the province. During that weak practice, ſilver got up by degrees to 8s. 9d. per ounce, and Engliſh crowns were called ſix, ſeven, and eight ſhilling pieces; long before paper-money was made. But this practice of increaſing the denomination, was found not to anſwer the end. The balance of trade carried out the gold and ſilver as faſt as it was brought in; the merchants raiſing the price of their goods in proportion to the increaſed denomination of the money. The difficulties for want of caſh were accordingly very great, the chief part of the trade being carried on

on by the extremely inconvenient method of barter; When in 1723 paper-money was firſt made there; which gave new life to buſineſs, promoted greatly the ſettlement of new lands, (by lending ſmall ſums to beginners on eaſy intereſt, to be repaid by inſtalments,) whereby the province has ſo greatly increaſed in inhabitants, that the export from hence thither is now more than tenfold what it then was; and by their trade with foreign colonies, they have been able to obtain great quantities of gold and ſilver to remit hither in return for the manufactures of this country.—*New York* and *New Jerſey* have alſo increaſed greatly during the ſame period, with the uſe of paper-money; ſo that it does not appear to be of the ruinous nature aſcribed to it.—And if the inhabitants of thoſe countries are glad to have the uſe of paper among themſelves, that they may thereby be enabled to ſpare for remittances hither, the gold and ſilver they obtain by their commerce with foreigners; one would expect that no objection againſt their parting with it could ariſe here, in the country that receives it.

The 2d reaſon is, "*That the* merchants *trading to America have* ſuffered *and loſt by the paper-money.*"—This may have been the caſe in particular inſtances, at particular times and places: As in *South Carolina*, about 58 years ſince; when the colony was thought in danger of being deſtroyed by the Indians and Spaniards; and the Britiſh merchants, in fear of loſing their whole effects there, called precipitately for remittances; and the inha-

bitants, to get ſomething lodged in ſafe countries, gave any price in paper-money for bills of exchange; whereby the paper, as compared with bills, or with produce, or other effects fit for exportation, was ſuddenly and greatly depreciated. The unſettled ſtate of government for a long time in that province had alſo its ſhare in depreciating its bills. But ſince that danger blew over, and the colony has been in the hands of the crown; their currency became fixed, and has ſo remained to this day.—Alſo in *New England*, when much greater quantities were iſſued than were neceſſary for a medium of trade, to defray the expedition againſt Louiſbourg; and, during the laſt war in *Virginia* and *North Carolina*, when great ſums were iſſued to pay the colony troops, and the war made tobacco a poorer remittance, from the higher price of freight and inſurance: in theſe caſes, the merchants trading to thoſe colonies may ſometimes have ſuffered by the ſudden and unforeſeen riſe of exchange.—By ſlow and gradual riſes, they ſeldom ſuffer; the goods being ſold at proportionable prices. But war is a common calamity in all countries, and the merchants that deal with them cannot expect to avoid a ſhare of the loſſes it ſometimes occaſions, by affecting public credit. It is hoped, however, that the profits of their ſubſequent commerce with thoſe colonies, may have made them ſome reparation.—And the merchants trading to the *Middle Colonies*, (New York, New Jerſey, and Penſylvania,) have never ſuffered by any riſe of exchange; it having ever been a conſtant rule there

there to conſider Britiſh debts as payable in Britain, and not to be diſcharged but by as much paper (whatever might be the rate of exchange) as would purchaſe a bill for the full ſterling ſum. On the contrary, the merchants have been great gainers by the uſe of paper-money in thoſe colonies; as it enabled them to ſend much greater quantities of goods, and the purchaſers to pay more punctually for them.—And the people there make no complaint of any injury done them by paper-money, with a legal tender; they are ſenſible of its benefits; and petition to have it ſo allowed.

The 3d Reaſon is, "*That the* reſtriction *has had a* beneficial effect *in New England.*"—Particular circumſtances in the *New England* colonies, made paper-money leſs neceſſary and leſs convenient to them. They have great and valuable fiſheries of whale and cod, by which large remittances can be made. They are four diſtinct governments; but having much mutual intercourſe of dealings, the money of each uſed to paſs current in all: but the whole of this common currency not being under one common direction, was not ſo eaſily kept within due bounds; the prudent reſerve of one colony in its emiſſions, being rendered uſeleſs by exceſs in another. The Maſſachuſets, therefore were not diſſatisfied with the reſtraint, as it reſtrained their neighbours as well as themſelves; and perhaps *they* do not deſire to have the act repealed. They have not yet felt much inconvenience from it; as they were enabled to aboliſh their paper-currency, by a large

ſum in ſilver from Britain to reimburſe their expences in taking Louiſbourg, which, with the gold brought from Portugal, by means of their fiſh, kept them ſupplied with a currency; till the late war furniſhed them and all America with bills of exchange; ſo that little caſh was needed for remittance. Their fiſheries too furniſh them with remittance through Spain and Portugal to England; which enables them the more eaſily to retain gold and ſilver in their country.—The *middle Colonies* have not this advantage; Nor have they tobacco; which in *Virginia* and *Maryland* anſwers the ſame purpoſe.—When colonies are ſo different in their circumſtances, a regulation that is not inconvenient to one or a few, may be very much ſo to the reſt.—But the pay is now become ſo indifferent in New England, at leaſt in ſome of its provinces, through the want of currency; that the trade thither is at preſent under great diſcouragement.

The 4th Reaſon is, "*That every* medium of trade *ſhould have an* intrinſic value; *which paper-money has not. Gold and ſilver are therefore the fitteſt for this medium, as they are an equivalent; which paper never can be.*"—However fit a particular thing may be for a particular purpoſe; wherever that thing is not to be had, or not to be had in ſufficient quantity; it becomes neceſſary to uſe ſomething elſe, the fitteſt that can be got, in lieu of it. Gold and ſilver are not the produce of North America, which has no mines; and that which is brought thither cannot be kept there in ſufficient quantity for a currency. *Britain,*

tain, an independent great ſtate, when its inhabitants grow too fond of the expenſive luxuries of foreign countries, that draw away its money; can, and frequently does, make laws to diſcourage or prohibit ſuch importations; and by that means can retain its caſh. The *colonies* are dependent governments; and their people having naturally great reſpect for the ſovereign country, and being thence immoderately fond of its modes, manufactures, and ſuperfluities, cannot be reſtrained from purchaſing them by any province law; becauſe ſuch law, if made, would immediately be repealed here, as prejudicial to the trade and intereſt of Britain.—It ſeems hard therefore to draw all their real money from them, and then refuſe them the poor privilege of uſing paper inſtead of it.—Bank bills and bankers notes are daily uſed *here* as a medium of trade, and in large dealings perhaps the greater part is tranſacted by their means; and yet *they* have no intrinſic value, but reſt on the credit of thoſe that iſſue them; as paper-bills in the colonies do on the credit of the reſpective governments there. Their being payable in caſh upon ſight by the drawer, is indeed a circumſtance that cannot attend the colony bills; for the reaſons juſt above-mentioned, their caſh being drawn from them by the Britiſh trade; But the legal tender being ſubſtituted in its place, is rather a greater advantage to the poſſeſſor; ſince he need not be at the trouble of going to a *particular bank* or banker to demand the money, finding (wherever he has occaſion to

lay out money in the province) a perſon that is obliged to take the bills. So that even out of the province, the knowledge that every man within that province, is obliged to take its money; gives the bill a credit among its neighbours, nearly equal to what they have at home.—And were it not for the laws *here*, that reſtrain or prohibit as much as poſſible all loſing trades, the caſh of *this* country would ſoon be exported; Every merchant who had occaſion to remit it, would run to the bank with all its bills that came into his hands, and take out his part of its treaſure for that purpoſe; ſo that in a ſhort time, it would be no more able to pay bills in money upon ſight, than it is now in the power of a colony treaſury ſo to do. And if government afterwards ſhould have occaſion for the credit of the bank, it muſt of neceſſity make its bills a legal tender; funding them however on Taxes by which they may in time be paid off; as has been the general practice in the colonies.—At this very time, even the ſilver-money in England is obliged to the legal tender for part of its value; that part, which is the difference between its real weight and its denomination. Great part of the ſhillings and ſixpences now current, are by wearing, become 5, 10, 20, and ſome of the ſixpences even 50 per cent. too light. For this difference between the *real* and the *nominal*, you have no *intrinſic* value; you have not ſo much as paper, you have nothing. It is the legal tender, with the knowledge that it can eaſily be repaſſed for the ſame value, that makes three-

pennyworth of ſilver paſs for ſixpence. — Gold and ſilver have undoubtedly *ſome* properties that give them a fitneſs above paper as a medium of exchange; particularly their *univerſal eſtimation*; eſpecially in caſes where a country has occaſion to carry its money abroad, either as a ſtock to trade with, or to purchaſe *allies* and *foreign ſuccours*;— Otherwiſe that very univerſal eſtimation is an inconvenience which paper-money is free from; ſince it tends to deprive a country of even the quantity of currency that ſhould be retained as a neceſſary inſtrument of its internal commerce; and obliges it to be continually on its guard in making and executing at a great expence, the laws that are to prevent the trade which exports it.—Paper money well funded has another great advantage over gold and ſilver; its lightneſs of carriage, and the little room that is occupied by a great ſum; whereby it is capable of being more eaſily, and more ſafely, becauſe more privately, conveyed from place to place.—Gold and ſilver are not *intrinſically* of equal value with iron, a metal in itſelf capable of many more beneficial uſes to mankind. Their value reſts chiefly in the eſtimation they happen to be in among the generality of nations, and the credit given to the opinion that thateſtimation will continue. Otherwiſe a pound of gold would not be a real equivalent for even a buſhel of wheat.—Any other well-founded credit, is as much an equivalent as gold and ſilver; and in ſome caſes more ſo, or it would not be preferred by commercial people in different countries. Not

to mention again our own bank bills; Holland, which underſtands the value of caſh as well as any people in the world, would never part with gold and ſilver for credit (as they do when they put it into their bank, from whence little of it is ever afterwards drawn out *) if they did not think and find the credit a full equivalent.

The 5th Reaſon is, "*That* debtors *in the aſſemblies make paper-money* with fraudulent views." This is often ſaid by the adverſaries of paper-money, and if it has been the caſe in any particular colony, that colony ſhould, on proof of the fact, be duly puniſhed. This, however, would be no reaſon for puniſhing other colonies, who have *not* ſo abuſed their legiſlative powers. To deprive all the colonies of the convenience of paper-money, becauſe it has been charged on ſome of them, that they have made it an inſtrument of fraud; is as if all the India, Bank, and other ſtocks and trading companies were to be aboliſhed, becauſe there have been, once in an age, Miſſiſſippi and South ſea ſchemes and bubbles.

The 6th and laſt Reaſon is, "*That in the middle colonies, where the paper-money has been beſt ſupported, the bills have* never kept to their nominal value *in circulation; but have conſtantly depreciated to a certain degree, whenever the quantity has been increaſed.*"—If the riſing of the value of any particular commodity wanted for exportation, is to be conſidered as a depreciation of the values

* [Perhaps Dr. Franklin had not at this time read what Sir James Stewart ſays of the Amſterdam bank reiſſuing its money. E.]

of

of *whatever remains* in the country; then the riſing of ſilver above paper to that height of additional value, which its capability of exportation only gave it, may be called a depreciation of the paper. Even here, as bullion has been wanted or not wanted for exportation, its price has varied from 5 s. 2 d. to 5 s. 8 d. per ounce. This is near 10 per cent. But was it ever ſaid or thought on ſuch an occaſion; that all the bank bills, and all the coined ſilver, and all the gold in the kingdom, were depreciated 10 per cent. ? Coined ſilver is now wanted here for change, and 1 per cent. is given for it by ſome bankers; are gold and bank notes therefore depreciated 1 per cent. ? —The fact in the middle colonies is really this: On the emiſſion of the firſt paper-money, a difference ſoon aroſe between that and ſilver; the latter having a property the former had not, a property always in demand in the colonies; to wit, its being fit for a remittance. This property having ſoon found its value, by the merchants bidding on one another for it; and a dollar thereby coming to be rated at 8 ſhillings in paper-money of New York, and 7 s. 6 d. in paper of Penſylvania; It has continued uniformly at thoſe rates in both provinces now near 40 years, without any variation upon new emiſſions; though in Penſylvania the paper currency has at times increaſed from 15,000 *l.* the firſt ſum, to 600,000 *l.* or near it. —Nor has any alteration been occaſioned by the paper-money, in the price of the neceſſaries of life, when compared with ſilver: They have been for the

the greateſt part of the time no higher than before it was emitted; varying only by plenty and ſcarcity; according to the ſeaſons, or by a leſs or greater foreign demand.—It has indeed been uſual with the adverſaries of a paper currency, to call every riſe of exchange with London, a depreciation of the paper: But this notion appears to be by no means juſt: For if the paper purchaſes every thing but bills of exchange, at the former rate, and theſe bills are not above one-tenth of what is employed [in] purchaſes; then it may be more properly and truly ſaid, that the exchange has riſen, than that the paper has depreciated. And as a proof of this, it is a certain fact, that whenever in thoſe colonies bills of exchange have been dearer, the purchaſer has been conſtantly obliged to give more in ſilver, as well as in paper, for them; the ſilver having gone hand in hand with the paper at the rate above mentioned; and therefore it might as well have been ſaid that the ſilver was depreciated.

There have been ſeveral different ſchemes for furniſhing the colonies with paper-money, that ſhould *not* be a legal tender, viz.

1. *To form a bank, in imitation of the bank of England, with a ſufficient ſtock of caſh to* pay the bills on ſight.

This has been often propoſed; but appears impracticable, under the preſent circumſtances of the colony trade; which, as is ſaid above, draws all the caſh to Britain, and would ſoon ſtrip the bank.

2. *To*

2. *To* raiſe a fund *by ſome yearly tax, ſecurely lodged in the bank of* England *as it ariſes, which ſhould,* (during the term of years *for which the paper-bills are to be current)* accumulate *to a ſum ſufficient to diſcharge them all at their* original value.

This has been tried in Maryland; and the bills ſo funded were iſſued without being made a general legal tender. The event was, that as notes payable in time are naturally ſubject to a diſcount proportioned to the time; ſo theſe bills fell at the beginning of the term ſo low, as that twenty pounds of them became worth no more than twelve pounds in Penſylvania, the next neighbouring province; though both had been ſtruck near the ſame time at the ſame nominal value, but the latter was ſupported by the general legal tender. The Maryland bills however began to riſe as the term ſhortened, and towards the end recovered their full value. But as a depreciating currency injures creditors, *this* injured debtors; and by its continually changing value, appears unfit for the purpoſe of money, which ſhould be as fixed as poſſible in its own value; becauſe it is to be the meaſure of the value of other things.

3. *To make the bills* carry an intereſt *ſufficient to ſupport their value.*

This too has been tried in ſome of the New England colonies; but great inconveniencies were found to attend it. The bills, to fit them for a currency, are made of various denominations; and ſome very low, for the ſake of change; there are of them from 10*l.* down to 3*d.* When they firſt come

come abroad, they paſs eaſily, and anſwer the purpoſe well enough for a few months; but as ſoon as the intereſt becomes worth computing, the calculation of it on every little bill in a ſum between the dealer and his cuſtomers in ſhops, warehouſes, and markets, takes up much time; to the great hindrance of buſineſs. This evil, however, ſoon gave place to a worſe; for the bills were in a ſhort time gathered up and hoarded; it being a very tempting advantage to have money bearing intereſt, and the principal all the while in a man's power, ready for bargains that may offer; which money out on mortgage is not. By this means numbers of people became uſurers with ſmall ſums, who could not have found perſons to take ſuch ſums of them upon intereſt, giving good ſecurity; and would therefore not have thought of it; but would rather have employed the money in ſome buſineſs, if it had been money of the common kind. Thus trade, inſtead of being increaſed by ſuch bills, is diminiſhed; and by their being ſhut up in cheſts, the very end of making them (viz. to furniſh a medium of commerce) is in a great meaſure, if not totally defeated.

On the whole, no method has hitherto been formed to eſtabliſh a medium of trade, in lieu of money, equal in all its advantages, to bills of credit—funded on ſufficient taxes for diſcharging it, or on land-ſecurity of double the value for repaying it at the end of the term; and in the mean time, made a GENERAL LEGAL TENDER.

The experience of now near half a century in the middle colonies, has convinced them of it among themſelves; by the great increaſe of their ſettlements, numbers, buildings, improvements, agriculture, ſhipping, and commerce. And the ſame experience has ſatisfied the Britiſh merchants who trade thither, that it has been greatly uſeful to them, and not in a ſingle inſtance prejudicial.

It is therefore hoped, that ſecuring the full diſcharge of Britiſh debts, which are payable here, and in all juſtice and reaſon ought to be fully diſcharged here in ſterling money; the reſtraint on the legal tender within the colonies will be taken off; at leaſt for thoſe colonies that deſire it, and where the merchants trading to them make no objection to it.

Remarks

Remarks on a PLAN for the future Management of Indian Affairs ‡.

THE regulations in this plan ſeem to me to be in general very good: but ſome few appear to want explanation or farther conſideration.

Clauſe 3. Is it intended by this clauſe to prevent the trade that Indians, living near the frontiers, may chooſe to carry on with the inhabitants, by bringing their ſkins into the [Engliſh] ſettlements?—This prevention is hardly practicable; as ſuch trade may be carried on in many places out of the obſervation of government; the frontier being of great extent, and the inhabitants thinly ſettled in the woods, remote from each other. The Indians too do not every where live in towns ſufficiently numerous to encourage traders to re-

‡ [The plan remarked upon, was under the conſideration of miniſtry before the cloſe of the year 1766, and (as I am inclined to think) after the commencement of 1765. I can go no nearer as to its date.

It is needleſs to enter into the particulars of it, as the remarks explain themſelves; except perhaps as to the following points. The trade was to be open; there were to be two ſuperintendants to it; in the northern diſtrict the trade was to be carried on at fixed poſts, in the ſouthern within the Indian towns; the military were to have no power over the ſuperintendants or the Indian trade, even in war time, unleſs with the ſuperintendants aſſent, or in great exigencies; the ſuperintendants, by themſelves or deputies, were to make annual viſitations among the Indians, to ſee to juſtice, &c. and their proceedings were to be very ſummary; and no credit was to be given to the Indians beyond 50 ſhillings, for no higher debt was to be made recoverable. E.]

ſide

ſide among them; but in ſcattered families, here and there; often ſhifting their ſituation for the ſake of better hunting;—and if they *are* near the Engliſh ſettlements, it would ſeem to them very hard to be obliged to carry their ſkins for ſale to remote towns or poſts; when they could diſpoſe of them to their neighbours, with leſs trouble, and to greater advantage; as the goods they want for them, are and muſt be dearer at ſuch remote poſts.

4. The colony "laws for regulating Indian "affairs or commerce," are the reſult of long experience, made by people on the ſpot, intereſted to make them good; and it would be well to conſider the matter thoroughly, before they are repealed, to make way for new untried ſchemes.

By whom are they to be repealed? By the colony aſſemblies? or by parliament?—Some difficulty will ariſe here.

13. The diſtricts ſeem too large for this. The Indians under the care of the northern ſuperintendant, by this plan, border on the colonies of Nova Scotia, Quebec, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia: The ſuperintendant's ſituation, remote from many of theſe, may occaſion great inconvenience; if his conſent is always to be neceſſary in ſuch caſes.

14. This ſeems too much to be done, when the vaſtneſs of the diſtrict is conſidered. If there were more diſtricts and ſmaller, it might be more practicable.

15 *and*

15 *and* 16. Are theſe agents or commiſſaries to try cauſes where life is concerned?— Would it not be better to ſend the criminals into ſome civil well ſettled government or colony, for trial, where good juries can be had?

18. "*Chief for the whole tribe; who ſhall conſtantly* reſide *with the commiſſary*, &c."—Proviſion muſt then be made for his maintenance, as particular Indians have no eſtates, but live by hunting; and their public has no funds or revenues.—Being uſed to rambling, it would perhaps not be eaſy to find one, who would be obliged to this conſtant reſidence; but it may be tried.

22. If the agent and his deputies, and the commiſſaries, are not to trade; ſhould it not be a part of their oath, that they will have no concern in ſuch trade, directly or indirectly?— Private agreements between them and the traders, for ſhare of profits, ſhould be guarded againſt; and the ſame care taken to prevent, if poſſible, private agreements between them and the purchaſers of Indian lands.

31. — "or trading at any other poſt, &c." This ſhould be ſo expreſſed, as to make the maſter liable for the offence of the ſervant; otherwiſe it will have no effect.

33. I doubt the ſettling of *tariffs* will be a matter of difficulty. There may be differences of fineneſs, goodneſs, and value, in the goods of different traders, that cannot be properly allowed for by general tariffs. And it ſeems contrary to the nature of commerce, for government to interfere

fere in the prices of commodities. Trade is a voluntary thing between buyer and ſeller; in every article of which each exerciſes his own judgment, and is to pleaſe himſelf. Suppoſe either Indian or trader is diſſatisfied with the tariff, and refuſes barter on thoſe terms; are the refuſers to be compelled? if not, Why ſhould an Indian be forbidden to take more goods for his ſkins than your tariff allows, if the trader is willing to give them; or a trader more ſkins for his goods, if the Indian is willing to give them?—Where there are a number of different traders, the ſeparate deſire of each to get more cuſtom, will operate in bringing down their goods to a reaſonable price. It therefore ſeems to me, that trade will beſt find and make its own rates; and that government cannot well interfere, unleſs it will take the whole trade into its own hands (as in ſome colonies it does) and manage it by its own ſervants, at its own riſque.

38. I apprehend, that if the Indians cannot get *rum* of fair traders, it will be a great means of defeating all theſe regulations that direct the trade to be carried on at certain poſts. The countries and foreſts are ſo very large, it is ſcarce poſſible to guard every part; ſo as to prevent unlicenſed traders drawing the Indians and the trade to themſelves, by rum and other ſpiritous liquors; which all ſavage people are ſo fond of. I think they will generally trade where they can get rum, preferably to where it is refuſed them;—and the propoſed prohibition will therefore be a great encourage-

ment to unlicenſed traders, and promote ſuch trade.—If the commiſſaries or officers at the poſts, can prevent the ſelling of rum during the barter for other goods, and until the Indians are about going away; it is perhaps all that is practicable or neceſſary.—The miſſionaries will, among other things, endeavour to prevail with them to live ſoberly and avoid drunkenneſs.

39. The Indian trade, ſo far as *credit* is concerned, has hitherto been carried on wholly upon honour. They have among themſelves no ſuch thing as priſons or confinements for debt.—This article ſeems to imply, that an Indian may be compelled by law, to pay a debt of fifty ſhillings or under. Our legal method of compulſion is by impriſonment: The Indians cannot and will not impriſon one another; And if we attempt to impriſon them, I apprehend it would be generally diſliked by the nations, and occaſion breaches.—They have ſuch high ideas of the value of perſonal liberty, and ſuch ſlight ones of the value of perſonal property; that they would think the diſproportion monſtrous between the liberty of a man, and a debt of a few ſhillings; and that it would be exceſſively inequitable and unjuſt, to take away the one for a default in payment of the other. It ſeems to me therefore beſt, to leave that matter on its preſent footing; the debts *under* fifty ſhillings as irrecoverable by law, as this article propoſes for the debts *above* fifty ſhillings.—Debts of honour are generally as well paid as other debts. Where no compulſion can be uſed, it is more diſ-

graceful to be diſhoneſt.—If the trader thinks his riſque greater in truſting any particular Indian, he will either not do it, or proportion his price to his riſque.

44. As the goods for the Indian trade all come from England, and the peltry is chiefly brought to England; perhaps it will be beſt to lay the *duty* here, on the exportation of the one, and the importation of the other; to avoid meddling with the queſtion, of the right to lay duties in America by parliament here.

If it is thought proper to carry the trading part of this plan into execution, would it not be well to *try it firſt in a few poſts*, to which the preſent colony laws for regulating the Indian trade do not reach; that by experience, its utility may be aſcertained, or its defects diſcovered and amended; before it is made general, and thoſe laws repealed to make way for it?—If the Indians find by experience that they are better uſed in their trade at the poſts, under theſe regulations, than at other places; may it not make them deſirous of having the regulations extended to other places; and when extended, better ſatisfied with them upon reflection and compariſon *?

* [The editor has given the following memorandum of Indian *fighting men*, inhabiting near the diſtant poſts, in 1762; to indulge the curious in future times, and ſhew alſo the extent of Dr. Franklin's travels. He believes it likely to have been taken by Dr. Franklin in an expedition which he made, as a commander in the Penſylvania militia, in order to determine meaſures and ſituations for the out-poſts; but is by no means aſſured of the accuracy of this opinion. The paper however is in Dr. Franklin's hand-writing: but it

muſt not be miſtaken as containing a liſt of the whole of the nations enumerated, but only ſuch part of them as lived near the places deſcribed. E.]

A liſt of the number of fighting men of the different nations of Indians, through which I (Dr. Franklin) paſſed, living at or near the ſeveral poſts.

SANDUSKY.		
Wyandotts and Mohickons		200
DETROIT.		
Poutauwautimies	150	
Ottawas	250	
Wyandotts	250	
Cheapwas	320	970
MICHILEMAKINAC.		
Ottawas	250	
Cheapwas	400	650
LA BAY.		
Meynomeneys	110	
Pervons	360	
Sax	300	
Reynard	320	1090
ST. JOSEPH'S.		
Poutauwautimies	200	
Ottawas (ſome diſtance)	150	350
The MIAMIES.		
Mincamies or Twigtwees		230
OUITANON.		
Ouitanons	200	
Thickapooſe	180	
Muſquiton	90	
Pyankiſhaws	100	570
SHAWANESE.		
At the lower town, on Scioto	240	
At the upper town, on Muſkingum	60	300
		4360

There is a nation, back of the Bay, who uſed formerly to come there to viſit the French, when they were in poſſeſſion of that poſt, called *La Sieu*, computed to be 2500 fighting men; who have this ſummer ſent word to Mr. Gorrell, who commands there, that they purpoſe paying him a viſit late this fall or in the ſpring.

III.

PAPERS

UPON

AMERICAN SUBJECTS

DURING

THE TROUBLES.

N. B. *All the Papers under this diviſion are diſtinguiſhed by the letters* [A: D.T.] *placed in the running title at the head of each leaf.*

Cauſes of the AMERICAN *Diſcontents before* 1768.

The Waves never riſe but when the winds blow.
Prov.

SIR*,

AS the cauſe of the preſent ill humour in America, and of the reſolutions taken there to purchaſe leſs of our manufactures, does not ſeem to be generally underſtood; it may afford ſome ſatisfaction to your readers, if you give them the following ſhort hiſtorical ſtate of facts.

From the time that the colonies were firſt conſidered as capable of *granting aids to the crown*, down to the end of the laſt war, it is ſaid, that the conſtant mode of obtaining thoſe aids was, by requiſition made from the crown, through its governors to the ſeveral aſſemblies, in circular letters from the ſecretary of ſtate, in his Majeſty's name; ſetting forth the occaſion, requiring them to take the matter into conſideration, and expreſſing a reliance on their prudence, duty, and affection to his Majeſty's government, that they would grant ſuch ſums, or raiſe ſuch numbers of men, as were ſuitable to their reſpective circumſtances.

The colonies being accuſtomed to this method, have from time to time granted money to the

* [This letter firſt appeared in a *London* paper, *January* 7, 1768, and was afterwards reprinted as a poſtſcript to *The true ſentiments of* America, printed for *Almon*, 1768. E.]

crown, or raiſed troops for its ſervice, in proportion to their abilities; and during all the laſt war beyond their abilities; ſo that conſiderable ſums were returned them yearly by parliament, as they had exceeded their proportion.

Had this happy method of requiſition been continued, (a method that left the King's ſubjects in thoſe remote countries the pleaſure of ſhowing their zeal and loyalty, and of imagining that they recommended themſelves to their ſovereign by the liberality of their voluntary grants) there is no doubt, but all the money that could reaſonably be expected to be raiſed from them in any manner; might have been obtained, without the leaſt heart-burning, offence, or breach of the harmony of affections and intereſts that ſo long ſubſiſted between the two countries.

It has been thought wiſdom in a goverment exerciſing ſovereignty over different kinds of people, to have *ſome regard to prevailing and eſtabliſhed opinions* among the people to be governed; wherever ſuch opinions might in their effects, obſtruct or promote public meaſures. If they tend to obſtruct public ſervice, they are to be changed, if poſſible, before we attempt to act againſt them; and they can only be changed by reaſon and perſuaſion. But if public buſineſs can be carried on without thwarting thoſe opinions; if they can be, on the contrary, made ſubſervient to it; they are not unneceſſarily to be thwarted, how abſurd ſuch popular opinions may be in their nature.

This

This had been the wiſdom of our government with reſpect to raiſing money in the colonies. It was well known, that the coloniſts univerſally were of opinion, that no money could be levied from Engliſh ſubjects, but by their own conſent, given by themſelves or their choſen repreſentatives; that therefore whatever money was to be raiſed from the people in the colonies, muſt firſt be granted by their aſſemblies, as the money raiſed in Britain is firſt to be granted by the houſe of commons; that this right of granting their own money, was eſſential to Engliſh liberty; and that if any man, or body of men in which they had no repreſentative of their chooſing, could tax them at pleaſure, they could not be ſaid to have any property, any thing they could call their own. But as theſe opinions did not hinder their granting money voluntarily and amply, whenever the crown by its ſervants came into their aſſemblies (as it does into its parliaments of *Britain* or *Ireland*) and demanded aids; therefore that method was choſen; rather than the hateful one of arbitrary taxes.

I do not undertake here to ſupport theſe opinions of the Americans; they have been refuted by a late act of parliament, declaring its own power;—— which very parliament, however, ſhewed wiſely ſo much tender regard to thoſe inveterate prejudices, as to repeal a tax that had militated againſt them. And thoſe prejudices are ſtill ſo fixed and rooted in the Americans, that, it has been ſuppoſed, not a ſingle man among them has been convinced

convinced of his error, even by that act of parliament.

The perſon then who firſt projected to lay aſide the accuſtomed method of requiſition, and to raiſe money on America by *ſtamps*, ſeems not to have acted wiſely, in deviating from that method (which the coloniſts looked upon as conſtitutional) and thwarting unneceſſarily the fixed prejudices of ſo great a number of the King's ſubjects.—It was not, however, for want of knowledge, that what he was about to do would give them offence; he appears to have been very ſenſible of this, and apprehenſive that it might occaſion ſome diſorders; to prevent or ſuppreſs which, he projected another bill that was brought in the ſame ſeſſion with the Stamp Act, whereby it was to be made lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their ſoldiers in private houſes. This ſeemed intended to awe the people into a compliance with the other act. Great oppoſition however being raiſed here againſt the bill by the agents from the colonies, and the merchants trading thither, (the coloniſts declaring, that under ſuch a power in the army, no one could look on his houſe as his own, or think he had a home, when ſoldiers might be thruſt into it and mixed with his family at the pleaſure of an officer,) that part of the bill was dropt; but there ſtill remained a clauſe, when it paſſed into a law, to oblige the ſeveral aſſemblies to provide quarters for the ſoldiers, furniſhing them with firing, bedding, candles, ſmall beer or rum, and ſundry other articles, at the expence of

of the ſeveral provinces. And this act continued in force when the Stamp Act was repealed; though if obligatory on the aſſemblies, it equally militated againſt the American principle above mentioned—that money is not to be raiſed on Engliſh ſubjects without their conſent.

The colonies nevertheleſs being put into high good humour by the repeal of the Stamp Act, choſe to avoid a freſh diſpute upon the other, it being temporary and ſoon to expire, never, as they hoped, to revive again; and in the mean time they, by various ways in different colonies, provided for the quartering of the troops; either by acts of their own aſſemblies, without taking notice of the Act of *Parliament*, or by ſome variety or ſmall diminution, as of ſalt and vinegar, in the ſupplies required by the act; that what they did might appear a voluntary act of their own, and not done in due obedience to an *Act of Parliament*, which, according to their ideas of their rights, they thought hard to obey.

It might have been well if the matter had then paſſed without notice; but a governor having written home an angry and aggravating letter upon this conduct in the aſſembly of his province, the outed [Propoſer *] of the Stamp Act and his adherents (then in the oppoſition) raiſed ſuch a clamour againſt America, as being in rebellion; and againſt thoſe who had been for the repeal of the Stamp Act, as having thereby been encouragers

* [Mr. *George Grenville.* E.]

of

of this ſuppoſed rebellion; that it was thought neceſſary to enforce the Quartering Act by another act of parliament, taking away from the province of New York (which had been the moſt explicit in its refuſal) all the powers of legiſlation, till it ſhould have complied with that act. The news of which greatly alarmed the people every where in America, as (it had been ſaid) the language of ſuch an act ſeemed to them to be—obey implicitly laws made by the parliament of *Great Britain* to raiſe money on you without your conſent, or you ſhall enjoy no rights or privileges at all.

At the ſame time a perſon lately in high office * projected the levying more money, from America, by new duties on various articles of our own manufacture, (as glaſs, paper, painters colours, &c.) appointing a new board of cuſtoms, and ſending over a ſet of commiſſioners, with large ſalaries, to be eſtabliſhed at Boſton, who were to have the care of collecting thoſe duties; which were by the act expreſsly mentioned to be intended for the payment of the ſalaries of governors, judges, and other officers of the crown in *America*; it being a pretty general opinion here, that thoſe officers ought not to depend on the people there, for any part of their ſupport.

It is not my intention to combat this opinion. —But perhaps it may be ſome ſatisfaction to your readers, to know what ideas the Americans have on the ſubject. They ſay then, as to *governors*,

* [Mr. *Charles Townſend.* E.]

that

that they are not like princes whoſe poſterity have an inheritance in the government of a nation, and therefore an intereſt in its proſperity; they are generally ſtrangers to the provinces they are ſent to govern; have no eſtate, natural connection, or relation there, to give them an affection for the country; that they come only to make money as faſt as they can; are ſometimes men of vicious characters and broken fortunes, ſent by a miniſter merely to get them out of the way; that as they intend ſtaying in the country no longer than their government continues, and purpoſe to leave no family behind them; they are apt to be regardleſs of the good-will of the people, and care not what is ſaid or thought of them after they are gone. Their ſituation at the ſame time, gives them many opportunities of being vexatious; and they are often ſo, notwithſtanding their dependence on the aſſemblies for all that part of their ſupport, that does not ariſe from fees eſtabliſhed by law; but would probably be much more ſo, if they were to be ſupported by money drawn from the people without their conſent or good will; which is the profeſſed deſign of this new act. That if by means of theſe forced duties government is to be ſupported in America, without the intervention of the aſſemblies; their aſſemblies will ſoon be looked upon as uſeleſs; and a governor will not call them, as having nothing to hope from their meeting, and perhaps ſomething to fear from their inquiries into, and remonſtrances againſt, his mal-adminiſtration.

That

That thus the people will be deprived of their moſt eſſential rights. That it being (as at preſent) a governor's intereſt to cultivate the good-will, by promoting the welfare, of the people he governs, —can be attended with no prejudice to the mother-country; ſince all the laws he may be prevailed on to give his aſſent to are ſubject to reviſion here, and if reported againſt by the board of trade, are immediately repealed by the crown; nor dare he paſs any law contrary to his inſtructions; as he holds his office during the pleaſure of the crown, and his ſecurities are liable for the penalties of their bonds if he contravenes thoſe inſtructions. This is what they ſay as to governors.

As to *judges* they allege, that being appointed from hence, and holding their commiſſions not during good behaviour, as in *Britain*, but during pleaſure; all the weight of intereſt or influence would be thrown into one of the ſcales (which ought to be held even) if the ſalaries are alſo to be paid out of duties raiſed upon the people without their conſent, and independent of their aſſemblies approbation or diſapprobation of the judges behaviour. That it is true, judges ſhould be free from all influence; and therefore, whenever government here will grant commiſſions to able and honeſt judges during good behaviour, the aſſemblies will ſettle permanent and ample ſalaries on them during their commiſſions; but, at preſent, they have no other means of getting rid of an ignorant or

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an unjuſt judge (and ſome of ſcandalous characters have, they ſay, been ſometimes ſent them) left, but by ſtarving them out.

I do not ſuppoſe theſe reaſonings of theirs will appear here to have much weight. I do not produce them with an expectation of convincing your readers. I relate them merely in purſuance of the taſk I have impoſed on myſelf, to be an impartial hiſtorian of American facts and opinions. — —

The coloniſts being thus greatly alarmed, as I ſaid before, by the news of the act for aboliſhing the legiſlature of New York, and the impoſition of theſe new duties, profeſſedly for ſuch diſagreeable purpoſes (accompanied by a new ſet of revenue officers, with large appointments, which gave ſtrong ſuſpicions, that more buſineſs of the ſame kind was ſoon to be provided for them, that they might earn their ſalaries); began ſeriouſly to conſider their ſituation; and to revolve afreſh in their minds, grievances which from their reſpect and love for this country, they had long borne and ſeemed almoſt willing to forget.—They reflected how lightly the intereſt of *all America* had been eſtimated here, when the intereſts of a *few* of the inhabitants of *Great Britain* happened to have the ſmalleſt competition with it. That the whole *American* people was forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oil, and fruit, from Portugal; but muſt take them loaded with all the expence of a voyage one thouſand leagues round about, being to be landed firſt in *England*, to be re-ſhipped

re-ſhipped for *America*; expences amounting, in war-time, at leaſt to thirty pounds per cent. more than otherwiſe they would have been charged with; and all this merely, that a few *Portugal* merchants in *London* may gain a commiſſion on thoſe goods paſſing through their hands. (*Portugal* merchants, by the by, that can complain loudly of the ſmalleſt hardſhips laid on their trade by foreigners, and yet even in the laſt year could oppoſe with all their influence the giving eaſe to their fellow-ſubjects labouring under ſo heavy an oppreſſion!) That on a ſlight complaint of a few *Virginia* merchants, nine colonies had been reſtrained from making paper-money, become abſolutely neceſſary to their internal commerce, from the conſtant remittance of their gold and ſilver to *Britain*.—But not only the intereſt of a particular body of *merchants*; but the intereſt of any ſmall body of Britiſh *tradeſmen or artificers*, has been found, they ſay, to outweigh that of all the King's ſubjects in the colonies.—There cannot be a ſtronger natural right than that of a man's making the beſt profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the ſtate in general. Iron is to be found every where in America, and the beaver furs are the natural produce of that country: hats, and nails and ſteel, are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire whether a ſubject of the King's gets his living with making hats on this, or on that ſide of the water. Yet the hatters of *England* have

prevailed to obtain an act in their own favour, reſtraining that manufacture in America; in order to oblige the Americans to ſend their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchaſe back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double tranſportation. In the ſame manner have a few nail-makers, and ſtill a ſmaller body of ſteel-makers (perhaps there are not half a dozen of theſe in *England*) prevailed totally to forbid by an act of parliament the erecting of ſlitting-mills, or ſteel furnaces in America; that the Americans may be obliged to take all their nails for their buildings, and ſteel for their tools, from theſe artificers, under the ſame diſadvantages *.

Added

* [I ſhall here give the reader the note at the end of the fourth paragraph of the Farmer's ſeventh letter, (written by Mr. *Dickenſon.*)

'Many remarkable inſtances might be produced of the extraordinary inattention with which bills of great importance, concerning theſe colonies, have paſſed in parliament; which is owing, as it is ſuppoſed, to the bills being brought in, by the perſons who have points to carry, ſo artfully framed, that it is not eaſy for the members in general, in the haſte of buſineſs, to diſcover their tendency.

'The following inſtances ſhew the truth of this remark.

'When Mr. *Grenville*, in the violence of reformation and innovation, formed the 4th *George* III. chap. 15th, for regulating the *American* trade, the word "Ireland" was dropt in the clauſe relating to our iron and lumber, ſo that we could ſend theſe articles to no other part of Europe, but to Great Britain. This was ſo unreaſonable a reſtriction, and ſo contrary to the ſentiments of the legiſlature, for many years before, that it is ſurpriſing it ſhould not have been taken notice of in the houſe. However, the bill paſſed into a law. But when the matter was explained, this reſtriction was taken off in a ſubſequent act.

'I cannot ſay, how long after the taking off this reſtriction, as I have not the acts; but I think in leſs than eighteen months, another act of parliament paſſed, in which the word "Ireland"

Added to theſe, the Americans remembered the act authorizing the moſt cruel inſult that perhaps was ever offered by one people to another, that of *emptying our gaols* into their ſettlements; Scotland too having within theſe two years obtained the privilege it had not before, of ſending its rogues and villains alſo to the plantations—I ſay, reflecting on theſe things, they ſaid one to another (their news-papers are full of ſuch diſcourſes) "Theſe people are not content with making a monopoly of us, (forbidding us to trade with any other country of Europe, and

'was left out, as it had been before. The matter being a ſecond 'time explained, was a ſecond time regulated.

'Now if it be conſidered, that the omiſſion mentioned, ſtruck 'off, with one word, ſo very great a part of our trade, it muſt ap- 'pear remarkable: and equally ſo is the method by which rice 'became an enumerated commodity, and therefore could be car- 'ried to Great Britain only.'

"The enumeration was obtained, (ſays Mr. Gee on Trade, "p. 32.) by one Cole, a captain of a ſhip, employed by a com- "pany then trading to *Carolina*; for ſeveral ſhips going from "*England* thither, and purchaſing rice for *Portugal*, prevented the "aforeſaid Captain of a loading. Upon his coming home, he "poſſeſſed one Mr. Lowndes, a member of parliament, (who "was frequently employed to prepare bills) with an opinion, that "carrying rice directly to *Portugal* was a prejudice to the trade of "*England*, and privately got a clauſe into an act to make it an "enumerated commodity; by which means he ſecured a freight "to himſelf. But the conſequence proved a vaſt loſs to the na- "tion."

'I find that this clauſe, "privately got into an act, for the bene- "fit of Captain *Cole*, to the vaſt loſs of the nation," is foiſted into 'the 3d Anne, chapter 5th, intituled, 'An Act for granting to 'Her Majeſty a further ſubſidy on wines and merchandizes import- 'ed;' with which it has no more connexion, than with 34th 'Edward I. 34th and 35th of Henry VIII. or the 25th Charles II. 'which provide that no perſon ſhall be taxed but by himſelf or 'his repreſentatives.' E.]

compelling

compelling us to buy every thing of them, though in many articles we could furniſh ourſelves ten, twenty, and even to fifty per cent. cheaper elſewhere;) but now they have as good as declared they have a right to tax us ad libitum internally and externally; and that our conſtitutions and liberties ſhall all be taken away, if we do not ſubmit to that claim."

"They are not content with the high prices at which they ſell us their goods, but have now begun to enhance thoſe prices by new duties; and by the expenſive apparatus of a new ſet of officers, appear to extend an augmentation and multiplication of thoſe burthens that ſhall ſtill be more grievous to us. Our people have been fooliſhly fond of their ſuperfluous modes and manufactures, to the impoveriſhing our own country, carrying off all our caſh, and loading us with debt; they will not ſuffer us to reſtrain the luxury of our inhabitants, as they do that of their own, by laws: they can make laws to diſcourage or prohibit the importation of French ſuperfluities: but though thoſe of England are as ruinous to us as the *French* ones are to them, if we make a law of that kind, they immediately repeal it. Thus they get all our money from us by trade; and every profit we can any where make by our fiſheries, our produce, or our commerce, centers finally with them;—But this does not ſignify.—It is time then to take care of ourſelves by the beſt means in our power. Let us unite in ſolemn reſolution and engagements with and to

each other, that we will give theſe new officers as little trouble as poſſible, by not conſuming the *Britiſh* manufactures on which they are to levy the duties. Let us agree to conſume no more of their expenſive gewgaws. Let us live frugally, and let us induſtriouſly manufacture what we can for ourſelves: thus we ſhall be able honourably to diſcharge the debts we already owe them; and after that, we may be able to keep ſome money in our country, not only for the uſes of our internal commerce; but for the ſervice of our gracious ſovereign, whenever he ſhall have occaſion for it, and think proper to require it of us in the old conſtitutional manner.—For notwithſtanding the reproaches thrown out againſt us in their public papers and pamphlets, notwithſtanding we have been reviled in their ſenate as rebels and traitors, we are truly a loyal people. Scotland has had its rebellions, and England its plots againſt the preſent royal family; but *America is untainted with thoſe crimes*; there is in it ſcarce a man, there is not a ſingle native of our country, who is not firmly attached to his King by principle and by affection. But a new kind of loyalty ſeems to be required of us, a loyalty to parliament; a loyalty, that is to extend, it is ſaid, to a ſurrender of all our properties, whenever a houſe of commons in which there is not a ſingle member of our chuſing, ſhall think fit to grant them away without our conſent; and to a patient ſuffering the loſs of our privileges as Engliſhmen, if we cannot ſubmit to make ſuch ſurrender. We were ſeparated too far from *Britain* by

by the ocean, but we were united to it by reſpect and love; ſo that we could at any time freely have ſpent our lives and little fortunes in its cauſe: but this unhappy new ſyſtem of politics tends to diſſolve thoſe bands of union, and to ſever us for ever."

Theſe are the wild ravings of the, at preſent, half-diſtracted Americans. To be ſure, no reaſonable man in England can approve of ſuch ſentiments, and, as I ſaid before, I do not pretend to ſupport or juſtify them: but I ſincerely wiſh, for the ſake of the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, and for the ſake of the ſtrength which a firm union with our growing colonies would give us; that theſe people had never been thus needleſsly driven out of their ſenſes.

I am yours, &c.

F. S*.

* [F. S. poſſibly means 'Franklin's Seal.'—The paper, however, is undoubtedly the production of Dr. *Franklin.*

In the *collection of tracts on the ſubjects of taxing the Britiſh colonies in America, and regulating their trade* (printed in 1773, in 4 vols. 8vo. by Almon;) I find *two* papers, ſaid there to have been publiſhed originally in 1739; and to have been drawn up by a club of American merchants, at the head of whom were Sir William Keith (governor of Penſylvania) Joſhua Gee, and many other eminent perſons. – The *firſt* paper propoſes the raiſing a ſmall body of regular troops under the command of an officer appointed by the crown, and independent of the governors, (who were nevertheleſs to aſſiſt him in council on emergent occaſions;) in order to protect the Indian trade, and take care of the boundaries and back ſettlements. They were to be ſupported by a revenue to be eſtabliſhed by *act of parliament,* in America; which revenue was to ariſe out of a duty on *ſtampt paper and parchment.*—The *ſecond* paper goes into the particulars of this propoſed ſtamp duty, offers reaſons for extending it over all the Britiſh plantations, and recites its ſuppoſed advantages.—If theſe papers are at all genuine, (a fact about which I am not in the leaſt informed) Mr. George Grenville does not appear to have been original in conceiving *ſtamps* as a proper ſubject for his new tax. See *ib.* vol. I. E.]

Letter concerning the Gratitude *of America, and the probability and effects of* an Union *with Great Britain; and concerning the* Repeal *or* Suſpenſion *of the Stamp-Act* *.

SIR, Jan. 6, 1766.

I HAVE attentively peruſed the paper you ſent me, and am of opinion, that the meaſure it propoſes, of an *union* with the colonies, is a wiſe one: but I doubt it will hardly be thought ſo here, till it is too late to attempt it. The time has been when the colonies would have eſteemed it a great advantage, as well as honour to them, to be permitted to ſend members to parliament; and would have aſked for that privilege, if they could have had the leaſt hopes of obtaining it. The time is now come, when they are indifferent about it, and will probably not aſk it; though they might accept it if offered them; And the time will come, when they will certainly refuſe it. But if ſuch an union were now eſtabliſhed, (which methinks it highly imports this country to eſtabliſh,) it would probably ſubſiſt as long as Britain ſhall continue a nation. This people, however, is too proud, and too much deſpiſes the Americans, to bear the thought of admitting them to ſuch an equitable participation in the government of

* [The name of the perſon to whom this letter is addreſſed cannot be made out in the original copy. The letter, to which it is a reply, appears to have contained the letter of ſome third perſon equally unknown to the editor. E.]

the

the whole.—Then the *next beſt* thing ſeems to be, leaving them in the quiet enjoyment of their reſpective conſtitutions; and when money is wanted for any public ſervice in which they ought to bear a part, calling upon them by requiſitorial letters from the crown, (according to the long eſtabliſhed cuſtom) to grant ſuch aids as their loyalty ſhall dictate, and their abilities permit.—The very ſenſible and benevolent author of that paper, ſeems not to have known, that ſuch a conſtitutional cuſtom ſubſiſts, and has always hitherto been practiſed in America; or he would not have expreſſed himſelf in this manner: "It is evident "beyond a doubt, to the intelligent and impartial, "that after the very extraordinary efforts which "were effectually made by Great Britain in the "late war to ſave the coloniſts from deſtruction, "and attended of neceſſity with an enormous load "of debts in conſequence; that the ſame colo-"niſts, now firmly ſecured from foreign enemies, "ſhould be ſome-how induced to contribute ſome "proportion towards the exigencies of ſtate in "future." This looks as if he conceived the war had been carried on at the ſole expence of Great Britain; and the colonies only reaped the benefit, without hitherto ſharing the burthen; and were therefore now indebted to Britain on that account. And this is the ſame kind of argument that is uſed by thoſe, who would fix on the colonies the heavy charge of unreaſonableneſs and ingratitude, which I think your friend did not intend.—Pleaſe to acquaint him then, that the fact is not ſo: That

every year during the war, requiſitions were made by the crown on the colonies for raiſing money and men; that accordingly they made *more extraordinary* efforts, in proportion to their abilities, than *Britain* did; that they raiſed, paid and clothed, for five or ſix years, near 25,000 men, beſides providing for other ſervices, (as building forts, equipping guard-ſhips, paying tranſports, &c.) And that this was more than their fair proportion is not merely an opinion of mine, but was the judgment of government here, in full knowledge of all the facts; for the then miniſtry, to make the burthen more equal, recommended the caſe to parliament, and obtained a reimburſement to the Americans of about 200,000*l.* ſterling every year; which amounted only to about two fifths of their expence;—and great part of the reſt lies ſtill a load of debt upon them; heavy taxes on all their eſtates, real and perſonal, being laid by acts of their aſſemblies, to diſcharge it, and yet will not diſcharge it in many years.—While then theſe burthens continue; while Britain reſtrains the colonies in every branch of commerce and manufactures, that ſhe thinks interferes with her own; while ſhe drains the colonies by her trade with them, of all the caſh they can procure by every art and induſtry in any part of the world, and thus keeps them always in her debt: (for they can make no law to diſcourage the importation of your to *them* ruinous ſuperfluities, as *you* do the ſuperfluities of France; ſince ſuch a law would immediately be reported againſt by your board of

trade, and repealed by the crown:) I ſay while theſe circumſtances continue, and while there ſubſiſts the eſtabliſhed method of royal requiſitions, for raiſing money on them by their own aſſemblies on every proper occaſion; Can it be neceſſary or prudent to diſtreſs and vex them by taxes laid here, in a parliament wherein they have no repreſentative, and in a manner which they look upon to be unconſtitutional and ſubverſive of their moſt valuable rights; and are they to be thought unreaſonable and ungrateful if they oppoſe ſuch taxes? Wherewith, they ſay, ſhall we ſhow our loyalty to our gracious king, if our money is to be given by others, without aſking our conſent? And if the parliament has a right thus to take from us a penny in the pound, where is the line drawn that bounds that right, and what ſhall hinder their calling whenever they pleaſe for the other nineteen ſhillings and eleven pence? Have we then any thing that we can call our own?—It is more than probable that bringing repreſentatives from the colonies to ſit and act here as members of parliament, thus uniting and conſolidating your dominions; would in a little time *remove* theſe objections and difficulties; and make the future government of the colonies eaſy: But, till ſome ſuch thing is done, I apprehend no taxes laid there by parliament here, will ever be collected, but ſuch as muſt be ſtained with blood: and, I am ſure the profit of ſuch taxes will never anſwer the expence of collecting them, and that the reſpect and affection of the Americans to this

country

country will in the ſtruggle be totally loſt, perhaps never to be recovered; and therewith all the commercial and political advantages that might have attended the continuance of this reſpect and this affection.

In my own private judgment I think an immediate Repeal of the ſtamp-act would be the beſt meaſure for *this* country; but a Suſpenſion of it for three years, the beſt for *that*. The *repeal* would fill them with joy and gratitude, re-eſtabliſh their reſpect and veneration for parliament, reſtore at once their ancient and natural love for this country, and their regard for every thing that comes from it; hence the trade would be renewed in all its branches; they would again indulge in all the expenſive ſuperfluities you ſupply them with, and their own new aſſumed home induſtry would languiſh. But the *ſuſpenſion*, though it might continue their fears and anxieties, would at the ſame time keep up their reſolutions of induſtry and frugality; which in two or three years would grow into habits, to their laſting advantage.—However, as the repeal will probably not be now agreed to *, from what I think a miſtaken opinion, that the honour and dignity of government is better ſupported by perſiſting in a wrong meaſure once entered into, than by rectifying an error as ſoon as it is diſcovered; we muſt allow the next beſt thing for the advantage of both countries is, the ſuſpen-

* [It was however agreed to in the ſame year, viz. in 1766. E.]

ſion. For as to executing the act by force, it is madneſs, and will be ruin to the whole.

The reſt of your friend's reaſonings and propoſitions appear to me truly juſt and judicious; I will therefore only add, that I am as deſirous of his acquaintance and intimacy, as he was of my opinion.—I am, with much eſteem,

Your obliged friend.

Letter

Letter from Governor Pownall *to Dr. Franklin, concerning an equal communication of rights, privileges, &c. to America by Great Britain* *.

Dear SIR,

THE following *objection* againſt communicating to the colonies the rights, privileges, and powers of the realm, as to parts of the realm, has been made. I have been endeavouring to obviate it, and I communicate [it] to you, in hopes of your promiſed aſſiſtance.

If, *ſay the objectors*, we communicate to the colonies the power of ſending repreſentatives, and in conſequence expect them to participate in an *equal ſhare and proportion* of all our taxes; we muſt grant to them all the powers of trade and manufacturing, which any other parts of the realm within the iſle of Great Britain enjoy:—If ſo, perchance the profits of the Atlantic commerce may converge to ſome center in America; to Boſton, New York, Philadelphia, or to ſome of the iſles:—If ſo, then the natural and artificial produce of the colonies, and in courſe of conſequences the landed intereſt of the colonies, will be promoted; While the natural and artificial produce and landed intereſt of Great Britain will be depreſſed, to its

* [This letter bears no date. It was written poſſibly about the time that Governor Pownall was engaged in publiſhing his book on the *Adminiſtration of the colonies*. E.]

utter

utter ruin and deſtruction;—and conſequently the balance of the power of government, although ſtill *within the realm*, will be *locally* transferred from Great Britain to the colonies. Which conſequence, however it may ſuit a citizen of the world, muſt be folly and madneſs to *a Briton*.—My fit is gone off; and though weak, both from the gout and a concomitant and very ugly fever, I am much better.—Would be glad to ſee you.

Your friend,

J. POWNALL.

On

On the back of the foregoing letter of Gov. Pownall, are the following minutes, by Dr. Franklin.

THIS *objection* goes upon the ſuppoſition, that whatever the colonies gain, Britain muſt loſe; and that if the *colonies* can be kept from gaining an advantage, *Britain will gain it:*—

If the colonies are fitter for a particular trade than Britain, they ſhould have it; and *Britain* apply to what it is more fit for. The whole empire is a gainer.—And if Britain is not ſo fit or ſo well ſituated for a particular advantage, *other* countries will get it, *if the colonies do not.* Thus Ireland was forbid the woollen manufacture, and remains poor: But this has given to the *French*, the trade and wealth Ireland might have gained for the Britiſh empire.

The government cannot *long* be retained without the union.—Which is beſt (ſuppoſing your caſe;) to have a total ſeparation, or a change of the ſeat of government?—It by no means follows, that promoting and advancing the landed intereſt in America, will depreſs that of Britain: The contrary has always been the fact. Advantageous ſituations and circumſtances will always ſecure and fix manufactures: Sheffield againſt all Europe for theſe 300 years paſt.—

Impracticability.

Danger of innovation.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The

The Examination of Dr. Benjamin Franklin [*before the* Engliſh *Houſe of Commons, in* February 1766] *relative to the* Repeal *of the* American Stamp *Act* *.

Q. WHAT is your name, and place of abode?

A. Franklin, of *Philadelphia.*

Q. Do the *Americans* pay any conſiderable taxes among themſelves?

A. Certainly many, and very heavy taxes.

Q. What are the preſent taxes in *Penſylvania*, laid by the laws of the colony?

* [1766. *Feb.* 3. *Benjamin Franklin*, Eſq; and a number of other perſons were 'ordered to attend the committee of the whole houſe 'of commons] to whom it was referred to conſider farther the 'ſeveral papers [relative to *America*] which were preſented to the 'houſe by Mr. Secretary *Conway*, &c.'

Feb. 13. *Benjamin Franklin*, Eſq; having paſſed through his examination, was excepted from farther attendance.

Feb. 24. The reſolutions of the committee were reported by the chairman, Mr. *Fuller*; their *ſeventh* and laſt reſolution ſetting forth 'that it was their opinion that the houſe be moved, that leave be 'given to bring in a bill to repeal the Stamp Act.'—A propoſal for re-committing this reſolution was negatived by 240 votes to 133. (See the *Journals of the Houſe of Commons.*)

This examination of Dr. *Franklin* was printed in the year 1767, under the form of a ſhilling pamphlet. It is prior in point of date to ſome of the foregoing pieces; but I readily ſubmitted to this derangement, thinking by this means to provide the reader with a knowledge of the proceedings on which the examination was grounded.

I have put *ſpaces* between the anſwers, whenever the queſtion led to a change of ſubject; which frequently happened, in conſequence of the deſultory and intermixed inquiries, made on the part of a body ſo variouſly compoſed as the houſe of commons. E.]

A. There

A. There are taxes on all eſtates real and perſonal; a poll tax; a tax on all offices, profeſſions, trades and buſineſſes, according to their profits; an exciſe on all wine, rum, and other ſpirits; and a duty of ten pounds per head on all negroes imported; with ſome other duties.

Q. For what purpoſes are thoſe taxes laid?

A. For the ſupport of the civil and military eſtabliſhments of the country, and to diſcharge the heavy debt contracted in the laſt war.

Q. How long are thoſe taxes to continue?

A. Thoſe for diſcharging the debt are to continue till 1772, and longer, if the debt ſhould not be then all diſcharged. The others muſt always continue.

Q. Was it not expected that the debt would have been ſooner diſcharged?

A. It was, when the peace was made with *France* and *Spain*. But a freſh war breaking out with the *Indians*, a freſh load of debt was incurred; and the taxes, of courſe, continued longer by a new law.

Q. Are not all the people very able to pay thoſe taxes?

A. No. The frontier counties, all along the continent, having been frequently ravaged by the enemy, and greatly impoveriſhed, are able to pay very little tax. And therefore, in conſideration of their diſtreſſes, our late tax laws do expreſsly favour thoſe counties, excuſing the ſufferers; and I ſuppoſe the ſame is done in other governments.

Q. Are

Q. Are not you concerned in the management of the *poſt-office* in *America?*

A. Yes. I am Deputy Poſt-Maſter General of *North America.*

Q. Don't you think the diſtribution of ſtamps, *by poſt*, to all the inhabitants, very practicable, if there was no oppoſition?

A. The poſts only go along the ſea-coaſts; they do not, except in a few inſtances, go back into the country; and if they did, ſending for ſtamps by poſt would occaſion an expence of poſtage, amounting, in many caſes, to much more than that of the ſtamps themſelves.

Q. Are you acquainted with *Newfoundland?*

A. I never was there.

Q. Do you know whether there are any poſt-roads on that iſland?

A. I have heard that there are no roads at all; but that the communication between one ſettlement and another is by ſea only.

Q. Can you diſperſe the ſtamps by poſt in Canada?

A. There is only a poſt between *Montreal* and *Quebec.* The inhabitants live ſo ſcattered and remote from each other, in that vaſt country, that poſts cannot be ſupported among them, and therefore they cannot get ſtamps per poſt.—The *Engliſh colonies* too, along the frontiers, are very thinly ſettled.

Q. From the thinneſs of the back ſettlements, would not the Stamp Act be extremely inconvenient to the inhabitants, if executed?

A. To be ſure it would; as many of the inhabitants could not get ſtamps when they had occaſion for them, without taking long journeys, and ſpending perhaps three or four pounds, that the crown might get ſixpence.

Q. Are not the colonies, from their circumſtances, very able to pay the ſtamp duty.

A. In my opinion, there is not gold and ſilver enough in the colonies to pay the ſtamp duty for one year *.

Q. Don't you know that the money ariſing from the ſtamps was all to be laid out in *America?*

A. I know it is appropriated by the act to the American ſervice; but it will be ſpent in the conquered colonies, where the ſoldiers are; not in the colonies that pay it.

Q. Is there not a balance of trade due from the colonies where the troops are poſted, that will bring back the money to the old colonies?

* [' The Stamp Act ſays, that the *Americans* ſhall have no com-
' merce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither
' purchaſe nor grant, nor recover debts; they ſhall neither marry
' nor make their wills, unleſs they pay ſuch and ſuch ſums' in *ſpecie* for the ſtamps which muſt give validity to the proceedings. The operation of ſuch a tax, had it obtained the conſent of the people, appeared inevitable; and its annual productiveneſs, if I recollect well, was eſtimated by its propoſer in the houſe of commons at the committee for ſupplies, at 100,000*l. ſterling*. The colonies being already reduced to the neceſſity of having *paper*-money, by ſending to *Britain* the ſpecie they collected in foreign trade, in order to make up for the deficiency of their other returns for *Britain*'s manufactures; there were doubts where could remain the *ſpecie* ſufficient to anſwer the tax. E.]

A. I think not. I believe very little would come back. I know of no trade likely to bring it back.—I think it would come from the colonies where it was ſpent, directly to England; for I have always obſerved, that in every colony the more plenty the means of remittance to *England*, the more goods are ſent for, and the more trade with *England* carried on.

Q. What number of white inhabitants do you think there are in Penſylvania?

A. I ſuppoſe there may be about one hundred and ſixty thouſand.

Q. What number of them are Quakers?

A. Perhaps a third.

Q. What number of Germans?

A. Perhaps another third; but I cannot ſpeak with certainty.

Q. Have any number of the *Germans* ſeen ſervice, as ſoldiers, in *Europe?*

A. Yes,—many of them, both in *Europe* and *America.*

Q. Are they as much diſſatisfied with the ſtamp duty as the *Engliſh?*

A. Yes, and more; and with reaſon, as their ſtamps are, in many caſes, to be double *.

Q. How

* [The Stamp Act provides that a *double* duty ſhould be laid 'where the inſtrument, proceedings, &c. ſhall be engroſſed, writ-'ten, or printed, within the ſaid colonies and plantations in any 'other than the *Engliſh* language.' This meaſure, I preſume, appeared to be ſuggeſted by motives of convenience, and the policy of aſſimilating perſons of foreign to thoſe of *Britiſh* deſcent, and

Q. How many white men do you ſuppoſe there are in *North America?*

A. About three hundred thouſand, from ſixteen to ſixty years of age *.

Q. What may be the amount of one year's imports into Penſylvania from *Britain?*

A. I have been informed that our merchants compute the imports from *Britain* to be above 500,000*l.*

Q. What may be the amount of the produce of your province exported to *Britain?*

A. It muſt be ſmall, as we produce little that is wanted in *Britain.* I ſuppoſe it cannot exceed 40,000*l.*

Q. How then do you pay the balance?

A. The balance is paid by our produce carried to the Weſt Indies (and ſold in our own iſlands, or to the French, Spaniards, Danes, and Dutch;) by the ſame [produce] carried to other colonies in North America, (as to New England, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina, and Georgia;)

preventing their interference in the conduct of law buſineſs till this change ſhould be effected—It ſeems however to have been deemed too precipitate, immediately to extend this clauſe to newly-conquered countries. An exemption therefore was granted, in this particular, with reſpect to *Canada* and *Grenada*, for the ſpace of five years, to be reckoned from the commencement of the duty. (See the Stamp Act.) E.]

* [Strangers excluded, ſome parts of the northern colonies double their numbers in fifteen or ſixteen years; to the ſouthward they are longer: but taking one with another, they have doubled by natural generation only, once in twenty-five years. Penſylvania, I believe, *including ſtrangers*, has doubled in about ſixteen years.—The calculation for February 1766, will not then ſuit 1779. E.]

by

by the ſame, carried to different parts of Europe, (as Spain, Portugal, and Italy.) In all which places we receive either money, bills of exchange, or commodities that ſuit for remittance to Britain; which, together with all the profits on the induſtry of our merchants and mariners, ariſing in thoſe circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ſhips; center finally in Britain to diſcharge the balance, and pay for Britiſh manufactures continually uſed in the province, or ſold to foreigners by our traders.

Q. Have you heard of any difficulties lately laid on the *Spaniſh* trade?

A. Yes, I have heard that it has been greatly obſtructed by ſome new regulations; and by the Engliſh men of war and cutters ſtationed all along the coaſt in America.

Q. Do you think it right that America ſhould be protected by this country, and pay no part of the expence?

A. That is not the caſe. The colonies raiſed, clothed, and paid, during the laſt war, near twenty-five thouſand men, and ſpent many millions.

Q. Were you not reimburſed by parliament?

A. We were only reimburſed, what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might reaſonably be expected from us; and it was a very ſmall part of what we ſpent. *Penſylvania*, in particular, diſburſed

about 500,000*l.* and the reimburſements, in the whole, did not exceed 60,000*l.*

Q. You have ſaid that you pay *heavy taxes in Penſylvania*; what do they amount to in the pound?

A. The tax on all eſtates, real and perſonal, is eighteen pence in the pound, fully rated; and the tax on the profits of trades and profeſſions, with other taxes, do, I ſuppoſe, make full half-a-crown in the pound.

Q. Do you know any thing of the *rate of exchange in Penſylvania*, and whether it has fallen lately?

A. It is commonly from one hundred and ſeventy to one hundred and ſeventy-five. I have heard that it has fallen lately from one hundred and ſeventy-five to one hundred ſixty-two and a half; owing, I ſuppoſe, to their leſſening their orders for goods; and when their debts to this country are paid, I think the exchange will probably be at par.

Q. Do not you think the people of America would ſubmit to pay the ſtamp duty, if it was moderated?

A. No, never, unleſs compelled by force of arms.

Q. Are not the taxes in Penſylvania laid on unequally, in order to burthen the Engliſh trade; particularly the tax on profeſſions and buſineſs?

A. It

A. It is not more burthenſome in proportion, than the tax on lands. It is intended, and ſuppoſed to take an equal proportion of profits.

Q. How is the aſſembly compoſed? Of what kinds of people are the members; landholders or traders?

A. It is compoſed of landholders, merchants, and artificers.

Q. Are not the majority landholders?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Do not they as much as poſſible, ſhift the tax off from the land, to eaſe that; and lay the burthen heavier on trade?

A. I have never underſtood it ſo. I never heard ſuch a thing ſuggeſted. And indeed an attempt of that kind could anſwer no purpoſe. The merchant or trader is always ſkilled in figures, and ready with his pen and ink. If unequal burthens are laid on his trade, he puts an additional price on his goods; and the conſumers, who are chiefly landholders, finally pay the greateſt part, if not the whole.

Q. What was the temper of America towards Great Britain *before the year* 1763?*

* [In the year 1733—'for the welfare and proſperity of our '*ſugar* colonies in America,' and 'for remedying diſcouragements 'of planters;' duties were '*given and granted*' to George the Second upon all rum, ſpirits, molaſſes, ſyrups, ſugar, and paneles of *foreign* growth, produce, and manufacture, imported into our colonies. This *regulation of trade*, for the benefit of the general empire was acquieſced in, notwithſtanding the introduction of the novel terms 'give and grant.' But the act, which was made only for the term of five years, and had been *ſeveral times* renewed in the reign of George the Second, and once in the reign of George the

A. The beſt in the world. They ſubmitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the ſeveral old provinces, they coſt you nothing in forts, citadels, garriſons or armies, to keep them in ſubjection. They were governed by this country at the expence only of a little pen, ink, and paper: They were led by a thread. They had not only a reſpect, but an affection for Great Britain; for its laws, its cuſtoms and manners; and even a fondneſs for its faſhions, that greatly increaſed the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an *Old England-man* was, of itſelf, a character of ſome reſpect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

Q. And what is their temper now?

A. O, very much altered.

Third; was renewed *again* in the year 1763, in the reign of George the Third, and *extended to other articles, upon new and altered grounds.* It was ſtated in the preamble to *this* act, 'that it was expedient that 'new proviſions and regulations ſhould be eſtabliſhed for *improving* 'the *revenue of this kingdom*;' 'that it was juſt and neceſſary that a 'revenue ſhould be raiſed in America for defending, protecting 'and ſecuring the ſame;' 'and that the commons of Great Britain '. . . . . deſirous of making ſome proviſion . . . . . towards *raiſing* 'the *ſaid revenue in* America, have reſolved to give and grant to 'his Majeſty the ſeveral rates and duties, &c.'—Mr. *Mauduit*, agent for Maſſachuſett's Bay, tells us that he was inſtructed in the following terms to oppoſe Mr. Grenville's taxing ſyſtem:—'You are to 'remonſtrate againſt theſe meaſures, and if poſſible to obtain a re-'peal of the *Sugar* Act, and prevent the impoſition of any further 'duties or taxes on the colonies. Meaſures will be taken that you 'may be joined by all the other agents. *Boſton, June* 14, 1764.'

The queſtion propoſed to Dr. Franklin alludes to this Sugar Act in 1763. Dr. Franklin's anſwer appears to deſerve the beſt attention of the reader. E.]

Q. Did

Q. Did you ever hear the authority of parliament to make laws for America queſtioned till lately?

A. The authority of parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except ſuch as ſhould lay internal taxes. It was never diſputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

Q. In what proportion hath population increaſed in America?

A. I think the inhabitants of all the provinces together, taken at a medium, double in about twenty-five years. But their demand for Britiſh manufactures increaſes much faſter; as the conſumption is not merely in proportion to their numbers, but grows with the growing abilities of the ſame numbers to pay for them. In 1723, the whole importation from Britain to Penſylvania, was but about 15,000 l. ſterling; it is now near half a million.

Q. In what light did the people of America uſe to conſider the parliament of Great Britain?

A. They conſidered the parliament as the great bulwark and ſecurity of their liberties and privileges, and always ſpoke of it with the utmoſt reſpect and veneration. Arbitrary miniſters, they thought, might poſſibly, at times, attempt to oppreſs them; but they relied on it, that the parliament on application, would always give redreſs. They remembered, with gratitude, a ſtrong inſtance of this; when a bill was brought into parliament, with a clauſe, to make royal inſtructions

laws

laws in the colonies; which the houſe of commons would not paſs, and it was thrown out.

Q. And have they not ſtill the ſame reſpect for parliament? *A.* No; it is greatly leſſened.

Q. To what cauſes is that owing?

A. To a concurrence of cauſes; the reſtraints lately laid on their trade, by which the bringing of foreign gold and ſilver into [the] colonies was prevented; the prohibition of making paper-money among themſelves*; and then demanding a new and heavy tax by ſtamps; taking away, at the ſame time, trials by juries, and refuſing to receive and hear their humble petitions.

Q. Don't you think they would ſubmit to the Stamp Act, if it was modified, the obnoxious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to ſome particulars, of ſmall moment?

A. No; they will never ſubmit to it.

Q. What do you think is the reaſon that the people in America increaſe faſter than in England?

A. Becauſe they marry younger, and more generally.

Q. Why ſo?

A. Becauſe any young couple that are induſtrious, may eaſily obtain land of their own, on which they can raiſe a family †.

* [Some of the colonies have been reduced to the neceſſity of bartering, from the want of a medium of traffic. See p. 209. E.]

† [See *The Thoughts on the Peopling of Countries*, p. 1, *&c. ſeq.* of this collection. E.]

Q. Are

Q. Are not the lower rank of people more at their eaſe in America than in England?

A. They may be ſo, if they are ſober and diligent; as they are better paid for their labour.

Q. What is your opinion of a future tax, impoſed on the ſame principle with that of the Stamp Act; how would the Americans receive it?

A. Juſt as they do this. They would not pay it.

Q. Have not you heard of the reſolutions of this houſe, and of the houſe of Lords, aſſerting the right of parliament relating to America, including a power to tax the people there?

A. Yes, I have heard of ſuch reſolutions.

Q. What will be the opinion of the Americans on thoſe reſolutions?

A. They will think them unconſtitutional and unjuſt.

Q. Was it an opinion in America before 1763, that the parliament had no right to lay taxes and duties there?

A. I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce; but a right to lay internal taxes was never ſuppoſed to be in parliament, as we are not repreſented there.

Q. On what do you found your opinion, that the people in America made any ſuch diſtinction?

A. I know that whenever the ſubject has occurred in converſation where I have been preſent, it has appeared to be the opinion of every one, that we could not be taxed in a parliament where we were

were not repreſented. But the payment of duties laid by act of parliament as regulations of commerce, was never diſputed.

Q. But can you name any act of aſſembly, or public act of any of your governments, that made ſuch diſtinction?

A. I do not know that there was any; I think there was never an occaſion to make any ſuch act, till now that you have attempted to tax us; *that* has occaſioned reſolutions of aſſembly, declaring the diſtinction; in which I think every aſſembly on the continent, and every member in every aſſembly, have been unanimous.

Q. What then could occaſion converſations on that ſubject before that time?

A. There was in 1754 a propoſition made (I think it came from hence) that in caſe of a war, which was then apprehended, the governors of the colonies ſhould meet, and order the levying of troops, building of forts, and taking every other neceſſary meaſure for the general defence; and ſhould draw on the treaſury here for the ſums expended; which were afterwards to be raiſed in the colonies by a general tax, to be laid on them by *act of parliament*. This occaſioned a good deal of converſation on the ſubject; and the general opinion was, that the parliament neither would nor could lay any tax on us, till we were duly repreſented in parliament; becauſe it was not juſt, nor agreeable to the nature of an *Engliſh* conſtitution ‡.

‡ [See p. 94, and p. 120 et ſeq. E.]

Q. Don't

Q. Don't you know there was a time in *New York*, when it was under conſideration to make an application to parliament to lay taxes on that colony, upon a deficiency ariſing from the aſſembly's refuſing or neglecting to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of the civil government?

A. I never heard of it.

Q. There was ſuch an application under conſideration in New York;—and do you apprehend they could ſuppoſe the right of parliament to lay a tax in America was only local, and confined to the caſe of a deficiency in a particular colony, by a refuſal of its aſſembly to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies?

A. They could not ſuppoſe ſuch a caſe, as that the aſſembly would not raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies to ſupport its own government. An aſſembly that would refuſe it muſt want common ſenſe; which cannot be ſuppoſed.—I think there was never any ſuch caſe at New York, and that it muſt be a miſrepreſentation, or the fact muſt be miſunderſtood. I know there have been ſome attempts, by miniſterial inſtructions from hence, to oblige the aſſemblies to ſettle permanent ſalaries on governors, which they wiſely refuſed to do; but I believe no aſſembly of New York, or any other colony, ever refuſed duly to ſupport government by proper allowances, from time to time, to public officers.

Q. But in caſe a governor, acting by inſtruction, ſhould call on an aſſembly to raiſe the ne-

ceſſary ſupplies, and the aſſembly ſhould refuſe to do it; do you not think it would then be for the good of the people of the colony, as well as neceſſary to government, that the parliament ſhould tax them?

A. I do not think it would be neceſſary. If an aſſembly could poſſibly be ſo abſurd as to refuſe raiſing the ſupplies requiſite for the maintenance of government among them, they could not long remain in ſuch a ſituation; the diſorders and confuſion occaſioned by it muſt ſoon bring them to reaſon.

Q. If it ſhould not, ought not the right to be in *Great Britain* of applying a remedy?

A. A right, only to be uſed in ſuch a caſe, I ſhould have no objection to; ſuppoſing it to be uſed merely for the good of the *people of the colony.*

Q. But who is to judge of that, Britain or the colony?

A. Thoſe that feel can beſt judge.

Q. You ſay the colonies have always ſubmitted to external taxes, and object to the right of parliament only in laying internal taxes; now can you ſhew that there is any kind of *difference between the two taxes* to the colony on which they may be laid?

A. I think the difference is very great. An *external* tax is a duty laid on commodities imported; that duty is added to the firſt coſt and other charges on the commodity, and when it is offered to ſale, makes a part of the price. If the people

do

do not like it at that price, they refuſe it; they are not obliged to pay it. But an *internal* tax is forced from the people without their conſent, if not laid by their own repreſentatives. The ſtamp act ſays, we ſhall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchaſe nor grant, nor recover debts; we ſhall neither marry nor make our wills, unleſs we pay ſuch and ſuch ſums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the conſequences of refuſing to pay it.

Q. But ſuppoſing the internal tax or duty to be laid on the neceſſaries of life imported into your colony, will not that be the ſame thing in its effects as an internal tax?

A. I do not know a ſingle article imported into the *northern* colonies, but what they can either do without, or make themſelves.

Q. Don't you think cloth from England abſolutely neceſſary to them?

A. No, by no means abſolutely neceſſary; with induſtry and good management, they may very well ſupply themſelves with all they want.

Q. Will it not take a long time to eſtabliſh that manufacture among them; and muſt they not in the mean while ſuffer greatly?

A. I think not. They have made a ſurpriſing progreſs already. And I am of opinion, that before their old clothes are worn out, they will have new ones of their own making.

Q. Can

Q. Can they poſſibly find wool enough in North America?

A. They have taken ſteps to increaſe the wool. They entered into general combinations to eat no more lamb; and very few lambs were killed laſt year. This courſe perſiſted in, will ſoon make a prodigious difference in the quantity of wool. And the eſtabliſhing of great manufactories, like thoſe in the clothing towns here, is not neceſſary, as it is where the buſineſs is to be carried on for the purpoſes of trade. The people will all ſpin, and work for themſelves, in their own houſes.

Q. Can there be wool and manufacture enough in one or two years?

A. In three years, I think, there may.

Q. Does not the ſeverity of the winter, in the northern colonies, occaſion the wool to be of bad quality?

A. No; the wool is very fine and good.

Q. In the more ſouthern colonies, as in Virginia, don't you know that the wool is coarſe, and only a kind of hair?

A. I don't know it. I never heard it. Yet I have been ſometimes in Virginia. I cannot ſay I ever took particular notice of the wool there, but I believe it is good, though I cannot ſpeak poſitively of it; But Virginia, and the colonies ſouth of it, have leſs occaſion for wool; their winters are ſhort, and not very ſevere; and they can very well clothe themſelves with linen and cotton of their own raiſing for the reſt of the year.

Q. Are

Q. Are not the people in the more northern colonies obliged to fodder their sheep all the winter?

A. In some of the most northern colonies they may be obliged to do it, some part of the winter.

Q. Considering the resolutions of parliament *, *as to the right*; do you think, if the stamp act is repealed, that the North Americans will be satisfied?

A. I believe they will.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I think the resolutions of *right* will give them very little concern, if they are never attempted to be carried into practice. The colonies will probably consider themselves in the same situation, in that respect, with Ireland; They know you claim the same right with regard to Ireland, but you never exercise it. And they may believe you never will exercise it in the colonies, any more than in Ireland; unless on some very extraordinary occasion.

Q. But who are to be the judges of that extraordinary occasion? Is not the parliament?

A. Though the parliament may judge of the occasion; the people will think it can never exercise such right, till representatives from the colonies are admitted into parliament; and that whenever the occasion arises, representatives *will* be ordered.

* [Afterwards expressed in the *Declaratory-Act*. E.]

Q. Did you never hear that *Maryland*, during the laſt war, had refuſed to furniſh a quota towards the common defence?

A. Maryland has been much miſrepreſented in that matter. Maryland, to my knowledge, never refuſed to contribute, or grant aids to the crown. The aſſemblies every year, during the war, voted conſiderable ſums, and formed bills to raiſe them. The bills were, according to the conſtitution of that province, ſent up to the council, or upper houſe, for concurrence; that they might be preſented to the governor, in order to be enacted into laws. Unhappy diſputes between the two houſes—ariſing from the defects of that conſtitution principally, rendered all the bills but one or two abortive. The *proprietary*'s council rejected them *. It is true, Maryland did not contribute its proportion; but it was, in my opinion, the fault of the government, not of the people.

Q. Was is not talked of in the other provinces as a proper meaſure to apply to parliament to compel them?

A. I have heard ſuch diſcourſe; but as it was well known, that the people were not to blame, no ſuch application was ever made, nor any ſtep taken towards it.

Q. Was it not propoſed at a public meeting?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Do you remember the aboliſhing of the paper currency in New England, by act of aſſembly?

* [See more under the head of *Provincial Papers*. E.]

A. I do remember its being aboliſhed, in the Maſſachuſett's Bay.

Q. Was not Lieutenant Governor Hutchinſon principally concerned in that tranſaction?

A. I have heard ſo.

Q. Was it not at that time a very unpopular law?

A. I believe it might, though I can ſay little about it, as I lived at a diſtance from that province.

Q. Was not the *ſcarcity of gold and ſilver* an argument uſed againſt aboliſhing the paper?

A. I ſuppoſe it was *.

Q. What is the preſent opinion there of that law? Is it as unpopular as it was at firſt?

A. I think it is not.

Q. Have not inſtructions from hence been ſometimes ſent over to governors, highly oppreſſive and unpolitical?

A. Yes.

Q. Have not ſome governors diſpenſed with them for that reaſon?

A. Yes; I have heard ſo.

Q. Did the Americans ever diſpute the controuling power of parliament to regulate the commerce?

A. No.

Q. Can any thing leſs than a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution?

* [See the anſwer to the report of the board of trade, p. 207-9. E.]

A. I do not ſee how a military force can be applied to that purpoſe.

Q. Why may it not?

A. Suppoſe a military force ſent into America, they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take ſtamps who chooſes to do without them. They will not find a rebellion: they may indeed make one.

Q. If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the conſequences?

A. A total loſs of the reſpect and affection the people of America bear to this country; and of all the commerce that depends on that reſpect and affection.

Q. How can the commerce be affected?

A. You will find, that if the act is not repealed, they will take very little of your manufactures in a ſhort time.

Q. Is it in their power to do without them?

A. I think they may very well do without them.

Q. Is it their intereſt not to take them?

A. The goods they take from Britain are either neceſſaries, mere conveniences, or ſuperfluities. The firſt, as cloth, &c. with a little induſtry they can make at home; the ſecond they can do without, till they are able to provide them among themſelves; and the laſt, which are much the greateſt part, they will ſtrike off immediately. They are mere articles of

of faſhion; purchaſed and conſumed, becauſe the faſhion in a reſpected country; but will now be deteſted and rejected. The people have already ſtruck off, by general agreement, the uſe of all goods faſhionable in mournings; and many thouſand pounds worth are ſent back as unſaleable.

Q. Is it their intereſt to make cloth at home?

A. I think they may at preſent get it cheaper from Britain, I mean of the ſame fineneſs and neatneſs of workmanſhip; but when one conſiders other circumſtances, the reſtraints on their trade, and the difficulty of making remittances, it is their intereſt to make every thing.

Q. Suppoſe an act of internal regulations connected with a tax, how would they receive it?

A. I think it would be objected to.

Q. Then no regulation with a tax would be ſubmitted to?

A. Their opinion is, that when aids to the crown are wanted, they are to be aſked of the ſeveral aſſemblies, according to the old eſtabliſhed uſage; who will, as they always have done, grant them freely. And that their money ought not to be given away, without their conſent, by perſons at a diſtance, unacquainted with their circumſtances and abilities. The granting aids to the crown, is the only means they have of recommending themſelves to their ſovereign; and they think it extremely hard and

unjuſt, that a body of men, in which they have no repreſentatives, ſhould make a merit to itſelf of giving and granting what is not its own, but theirs; and deprive them of a right they eſteem of the utmoſt value and importance, as it is the ſecurity of all their other rights.

Q. But is not the poſt-office, which they have long received, a tax as well as a regulation?

A. No; the money paid for the poſtage of a letter is not of the nature of a tax; it is merely a *quantum meruit* for a ſervice done; no perſon is compellable to pay the money, if he does not chooſe to receive the ſervice. A man may ſtill, as before the act, ſend his letter by a ſervant, a ſpecial meſſenger, or a friend; if he thinks it cheaper and ſafer.

Q. But do they not conſider the regulations of the poſt-office, by the act of laſt year, as a tax?

A. By the regulations of laſt year the rate of poſtage was generally abated near thirty per cent. through all America; they certainly cannot conſider ſuch abatement *as a tax*.

Q. If an exciſe was laid by parliament, which they might likewiſe avoid paying, by not conſuming the articles exciſed; would they then not object to it?

A. They would certainly object to it, as an exciſe is unconnected with any ſervice done, and is merely an aid; which they think ought to be aſked of them, and granted by them, if they are to pay it; and can be granted for them by no

others

others whatſoever, whom they have not impowered for that purpoſe.

Q. You ſay they do not object to the right of parliament, in laying duties on goods to be paid on their importation; now, is there any kind of difference between a duty on the *importation* of goods, and an exciſe on their *conſumption?*

A. Yes; a very material one: an exciſe, for the reaſons I have juſt mentioned, they think you can have no right to lay within their country. But *the ſea* is yours; you maintain, by your fleets, the ſafety of navigation in it, and keep it clear of pirates; you may have therefore a natural and equitable right to ſome *toll* or duty on merchandizes carried through that part of your dominions, towards defraying the expence you are at, in ſhips to maintain the ſafety of that carriage.

Q. Does this reaſoning hold in the caſe of a duty laid on the produce of their lands *exported?* And would they not then object to ſuch a duty?

A. If it tended to make the produce ſo much dearer abroad as to leſſen the demand for it, to be ſure they would object to ſuch a duty; Not to your right of laying it; but they would complain of it as a burthen, and petition you to lighten it.

Q. Is not the duty paid on the tobacco exported, a duty of that kind?

A. That, I think, is only on tobacco carried coaſt-wiſe from one colony to another, and ap-

propriated as a fund for ſupporting the college at Williamſburgh, in Virginia.

Q. Have not the aſſemblies in the Weſt Indies the ſame natural rights with thoſe in North America?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. And is there not a tax laid there on their ſugars exported?

A. I am not much acquainted with the Weſt Indies; but the duty of four and a half per cent. on ſugars exported, was, I believe, granted by their own aſſemblies *?

Q. How much is the poll-tax in your province laid on unmarried men?

A. It is, I think fifteen ſhillings, to be paid by every ſingle freeman, upwards of twenty-one years old.

Q. What is the annual amount of *all* the taxes in Penſylvania?

A. I ſuppoſe about 20,000l. ſterling.

Q. Suppoſing the Stamp Act continued, and enforced, do you imagine that ill-humour will induce the Americans to give as much for worſe manufactures of their own, and uſe them, preferably to better of ours?

A. Yes, I think ſo. People will pay as freely to gratify one paſſion as another, their reſentment as their pride.

Q. Would the people at Boſton diſcontinue their trade? *A.* The

* [See the note to Lord Howe's letter to our author. E.]

A. The merchants are a very ſmall number compared with the body of the people, and muſt diſcontinue their trade, if nobody will buy their goods.

Q. What are the body of the people in the colonies?

A. They are farmers, huſbandmen, or planters.

Q. Would they ſuffer the produce of their lands to rot?

A. No; but they would not raiſe ſo much. They would manufacture more, and plow leſs.

Q. Would they live without the adminiſtration of juſtice in civil matters, and ſuffer all the inconveniencies of ſuch a ſituation for any conſiderable time, rather than take the ſtamps; ſuppoſing the ſtamps were protected by a ſufficient force, where every one might have them?

A. I think the ſuppoſition impracticable, that the ſtamps ſhould be ſo protected as that every one might have them. The act requires ſub-diſtributors to be appointed in every county town, diſtrict, and village; and they would be neceſſary. But the *principal* diſtributors, who were to have had a conſiderable profit on the whole, have not thought it worth while to continue in the office; and I think it impoſſible to find ſub-diſtributors fit to be truſted, who, for the trifling profit that muſt come to their ſhare, would incur the odium, and run the hazard that would

would attend it; and if they could be found, I think it impracticable to protect the ſtamps in ſo many diſtant and remote places.

Q. But in places where they could be protected, would not the people uſe them rather than remain in ſuch a ſituation, unable to obtain any right, or recover, by law, any debt?

A. It is hard to ſay what they would do. I can only judge what other people will think, and how they will act, by what I feel within myſelf. I have a great many debts due to me in America, and I had rather they ſhould remain unrecoverable by any law, than ſubmit to the Stamp Act. They will be debts of honour. It is my opinion the people will either continue in that ſituation, or find ſome way to extricate themſelves, perhaps by generally agreeing to proceed in the courts without ſtamps.

Q. What do you think a ſufficient military force to protect the diſtribution of the ſtamps in every part of America?

A. A very great force; I can't ſay what, if the diſpoſition of America is for a general reſiſtance.

Q. What is the number of men in America able to bear arms, or of diſciplined militia?

A. There are, I ſuppoſe, at leaſt——

[*Queſtion objected to. He withdrew. Called in again.*]

Q. Is the American Stamp Act an equal tax on the country?

A. I think not. *Q.* Why

Q. Why ſo?

A. The greateſt part of the money muſt ariſe from law-ſuits for the recovery of debts; and be paid by the lower ſort of people, who were too poor eaſily to pay their debts. It is therefore a heavy tax on the poor, and a tax upon them for being poor.

Q. But will not this increaſe of expence be a means of leſſening the number of law-ſuits?

A. I think not; for as the coſts all fall upon the debtor, and are to be paid by him, they would be no diſcouragement to the creditor to bring his action.

Q. Would it not have the effect of exceſſive uſury?

A. Yes, as an oppreſſion of the debtor.

Q. How many ſhips are there laden annually in North America with *flax-ſeed* for Ireland?

A. I cannot ſpeak to the number of ſhips, but I know that in 1752, ten thouſand hogſheads of flax-ſeed, each containing ſeven buſhels, were exported from Philadelphia to Ireland. I ſuppoſe the quantity is greatly increaſed ſince that time; and it is underſtood that the exportation from New York is equal to that from Philadelphia.

Q. What becomes of the flax that grows with that flax-ſeed?

A. They manufacture ſome into coarſe, and ſome into a middling kind of linen.

Q. Are there any *ſlitting-mills* in America ‡?

‡ [i. e. Mills for the ſlitting of iron. E.]

A. I

A. I think there are three, but I believe only one at preſent employed. I ſuppoſe they will all be ſet to work, if the interruption of the trade continues.

Q. Are there any *fulling-mills* there?

A. A great many.

Q. Did you never hear that a great quantity of *ſtockings* were contracted for, for the army, during the war, and manufactured in Philadelphia?

A. I have heard ſo.

Q. If the Stamp-Act ſhould be repealed, would not the Americans think they could oblige the parliament to repeal every external tax-law now in force?

A. It is hard to anſwer queſtions of what people at ſuch a diſtance will think.

Q. But what do you imagine they will think were the motives of repealing the act?

A. I ſuppoſe they will think that it was repealed from a conviction of its inexpediency; and they will rely upon it, that while the ſame inexpediency ſubſiſts, you will never attempt to make ſuch another.

Q. What do you mean by its inexpediency?

A. I mean its inexpediency on ſeveral accounts? the poverty and inability of thoſe who were to pay the tax; the general diſcontent it has occaſioned; and the impracticability of enforcing it.

Q. If the act ſhould be repealed, and the legiſlature ſhould ſhew its reſentment to the oppoſers of the Stamp-Act, would the colonies acquieſce in

in the authority of the legiſlature? What is your opinion they would do?

A. I don't doubt at all, that if the legiſlature repeal the Stamp-Act, the colonies will acquieſce in the authority.

Q. But if the legiſlature ſhould think fit to aſcertain its right to lay taxes, by any act laying a ſmall tax, contrary to their opinion; would they ſubmit to pay the tax?

A. The proceedings of the people in America have been conſidered too much together. The proceedings of the aſſemblies have been very different from thoſe of the mobs; and ſhould be diſtinguiſhed, as having no connection with each other. The *aſſemblies* have only peaceably reſolved what they take to be their rights: they have taken no meaſures for oppoſition by force, they have not built a fort, raiſed a man, or provided a grain of ammunition, in order to ſuch oppoſition. The ring-leaders of riots they think ought to be puniſhed; they would puniſh them themſelves, if they could. Every ſober, ſenſible man would wiſh to ſee rioters puniſhed, as otherwiſe peaceable people have no ſecurity of perſon or eſtate.—But as to an internal tax, how ſmall ſoever, laid by the legiſlature here on the people there, while they have no repreſentatives in this legiſlature, I think it will never be ſubmitted to: they will oppoſe it to the laſt.—They do not conſider it as at all neceſſary for you to raiſe money on them by your taxes; becauſe they are, and always h ve

been, ready to raiſe money by taxes among themſelves, and to grant large ſums, equal to their abilities; upon requiſition from the crown. They have not only granted equal to their abilities; but, during all the laſt war, they granted far beyond their abilities, and beyond their proportion with this country, (you yourſelves being judges,) to the amount of many hundred thouſand pounds; And this they did freely and readily, only on a ſort of promiſe, from the ſecretary of ſtate, that it ſhould be recommended to parliament to make them compenſation. It was accordingly recommended to parliament, in the moſt honourable manner for them.—America has been greatly miſrepreſented and abuſed here, in papers, and pamphlets, and ſpeeches, as ungrateful, and unreaſonable, and unjuſt; in having put this nation to immenſe expence for their defence, and refuſing to bear any part of that expence. The colonies raiſed, paid, and clothed, near twenty-five thouſand men during the laſt war; a number equal to thoſe ſent from Britain, and far beyond their proportion; they went deeply into debt in doing this, and all their taxes and eſtates are mortgaged, for many years to come, for diſcharging that debt. Government here was at that time very ſenſible of this. The colonies were recommended to parliament. Every year the King ſent down to the houſe a written meſſage to this purpoſe, 'That his Majeſty, being 'highly ſenſible of the zeal and vigour with 'which his faithful ſubjects in North Ame-

'rica had exerted themſelves, in defence of his 'Majeſty's juſt rights and poſſeſſions; recom-'mended it to the houſe to take the ſame into 'conſideration, and enable him to give them a 'proper compenſation.' You will find thoſe meſſages on your own journals every year of the war to the very laſt; and you did accordingly give 200,000l. annually to the crown, to be diſtributed in ſuch compenſation to the colonies. This is the ſtrongeſt of all proofs that the colonies, far from being unwilling to bear a ſhare of the burthen, did exceed their proportion; for if they had done leſs, or had only equalled their proportion, there would have been no room or reaſon for compenſation.—Indeed the ſums reimburſed them, were by no means adequate to the expence they incurred beyond their proportion: but they never murmured at that; they eſteem their Sovereign's approbation of their zeal and fidelity, and the approbation of this houſe, far beyond any other kind of compenſation; therefore there was no occaſion for this act, to force money from a willing people: they had not refuſed giving money for the *purpoſes* of the act; no requiſition had been made; they were always willing and ready to do what could reaſonably be expected from them, and in this light they wiſh to be conſidered.

Q. But ſuppoſe Great Britain ſhould be engaged in a *war in Europe*, would North America contribute to the ſupport of it?

A. I

A. I do think they would, as far as their circumſtances would permit. They conſider themſelves as a part of the Britiſh empire, and as having one common intereſt with it: they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not conſider themſelves as ſuch. They are zealous for the honour and proſperity of this nation; and, while they are well uſed, will always be ready to ſupport it, as far as their little power goes.—In 1739 they were called upon to aſſiſt in the expedition againſt *Carthagena*, and they ſent three thouſand men to join your army *. It is true Carthagena is in America, but as remote from the northern colonies, as if it had been in Europe. They make no diſtinction of wars, as to their duty of aſſiſting in them.—I know the *laſt war* is commonly ſpoke of here as entered into for the defence, or for the ſake of the people in America. I think it is quite miſunderſtood. It began about the limits between Canada and Nova Scotia; about territories to which the *crown* indeed laid claim, but [which] were not claimed by any Britiſh *colony*; None of the lands had been granted to any coloniſt; we had therefore no particular concern or intereſt in that diſpute.—As to the *Ohio*, the conteſt there began about your right of trading in the Indian country, a right you had by the treaty of Utrecht, which the French infringed; they

[* Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth commanded this expedition; with what ſucceſs, is well known. E.]

ſeized

ſeized the traders and their goods, which were your manufactures; they took a fort which a company of your merchants, and their factors and correſpondents, had erected there, to ſecure that trade. Braddock was ſent with an army to re-take that fort (which was looked on here as another incroachment on the King's territory) and to protect your trade. It was not till after his defeat that the colonies were attacked *. They were before in perfect peace with both French and Indians; the troops were not therefore ſent for their defence.—The trade with the Indians, though carried on in America, is not an *American intereſt*. The people of America are chiefly farmers and planters; ſcarce any thing that they raiſe or produce is an article of commerce with the Indians. The Indian trade is a *Britiſh intereſt*; it is carried on with Britiſh manufactures, for the profit of Britiſh merchants and manufacturers; therefore the war, as it commenced for the defence of territories of the crown (the property of no American) and for the defence of a trade purely Britiſh, was really a Britiſh war—and yet the people of America made no ſcruple of contributing their utmoſt towards carrying it on, and bringing it to a happy concluſion.

* [When this army was in the utmoſt diſtreſs from the want of waggons, &c. our author and his ſon voluntarily traverſed the country, in order to collect a ſufficient quantity; and they had zeal and addreſs enough to effect their purpoſe, upon pledging themſelves, to the amount of many thouſand pounds, for payment. It was but juſt before Dr. Franklin's laſt return to America, that the accounts in this tranſaction were paſſed at home. E.]

Q. Do you think then that the taking poſſeſſion of the King's territorial rights, and *ſtrengthening the frontiers*, is not an American intereſt?

A. Not particularly; but conjointly a Britiſh and an American intereſt.

Q. You will not deny that the preceding war, the *war with Spain*, was entered into for the ſake of America; was it not *occaſioned by captures made in the American* ſeas?

A. Yes; captures of ſhips carrying on the Britiſh trade there with Britiſh manufactures.

Q. Was not the *late war with the* Indians, *ſince the peace with France*, a war for America only?

A. Yes; it was more particularly for America than the former; but it was rather a conſequence or remains of the former war, the Indians not having been thoroughly pacified; And the Americans bore by much the greateſt ſhare of the expence. It was put an end to by the army under General Bouquet; there were not above three hundred regulars in that army, and above one thouſand Penſylvanians.

Q. Is it not neceſſary to ſend troops to America, to defend the Americans againſt the Indians?

A. No, by no means; it never was neceſſary. They defended themſelves when they were but an handful, and the Indians much more numerous. They continually gained ground, and have driven the Indians over the mountains, without any troops ſent to their aſſiſtance from this country. And can it be thought neceſſary now to ſend troops for their

their defence from thoſe diminiſhed Indian tribes, when the colonies are become ſo populous, and ſo ſtrong? There is not the leaſt occaſion for it; they are very able to defend themſelves.

Q. Do you ſay there were no more than three hundred regular troops employed in the late Indian war?

A. Not on the Ohio, or the frontiers of Penſylvania, which was the chief part of the war that affected the colonies. There were garriſons at Niagara, Fort Detroit, and thoſe remote poſts kept for the ſake of your trade; I did not reckon them; but I believe that on the whole the number of Americans, or provincial troops, employed in the war, was greater than that of the regulars. I am not certain, but I think ſo.

Q. Do you think the aſſemblies have a right to levy money on the ſubject there, to grant *to the crown?*

A. I certainly think ſo; they have always done it.

Q. Are they acquainted with the declaration of rights? And do they know that, by that ſtatute, money is not to be raiſed on the ſubject but by conſent of parliament?

A. They are very well acquainted with it.

Q. How then can they think they have a right to levy money for the crown, or for any other than local purpoſes?

A. They underſtand that clauſe to relate to ſubjects only within the realm; that no money

can be levied on them for the crown, but by conſent of parliament. *The colonies* are not ſuppoſed to be within the realm; they have aſſemblies of their own, which are their parliaments, and they are, in that reſpect, in the ſame ſituation with *Ireland.* When money is to be raiſed for the crown upon the ſubject in *Ireland,* or in the colonies; the conſent is given in the parliament of Ireland, or in the aſſemblies of the colonies. They think the parliament of Great Britain cannot properly give that conſent, till it has repreſentatives from America; for the petition of right expreſsly ſays, it is to be by *common conſent in parliament*; and the people of America have no repreſentatives in parliament, to make a part of that common conſent.

Q. If the Stamp Act ſhould be repealed, and an act ſhould paſs, ordering the aſſemblies of the colonies to indemnify the ſufferers by the riots, would they obey it?

A. That is a queſtion I cannot anſwer.

Q. Suppoſe the King ſhould require the colonies to grant a revenue, and the parliament ſhould be againſt their doing it; do they think they can grant a revenue to the King, *without* the conſent of the parliament of Great Britain?

A. That is a deep queſtion.—As to my own opinion, I ſhould think myſelf at liberty to do it, and ſhould do it, if I liked the occaſion.

Q. When

Q. When money has been raiſed in the colonies, upon requiſitions, has it not been granted to the King?

A. Yes, always; but the requiſitions have generally been for ſome ſervice expreſſed, as to raiſe, clothe, and pay troops; and not for money only.

Q. If the act ſhould paſs, requiring the American aſſemblies to make compenſation to the ſufferers, and they ſhould diſobey it; and then the parliament ſhould, by another act, lay an internal tax; would they then obey it?

A. The people will pay no internal tax; and I think an act to oblige the aſſemblies to make compenſation is unneceſſary; for I am of opinion, that as ſoon as the preſent heats are abated, they will take the matter into conſideration, and if it is right to be done, they will do it of themſelves.

Q. Do not letters often come into the poſt-offices in America, directed to ſome inland town where no poſt goes?

A. Yes.

Q. Can any private perſon take up thoſe letters, and carry them as directed?

A. Yes; any friend of the perſon may do it, paying the poſtage that has accrued.

Q. But muſt not he pay an additional poſtage for the diſtance to ſuch inland town?

A. No.

Q. Can the poſt-maſter anſwer delivering the letter, without being paid ſuch additional poſtage?

A. Certainly he can demand nothing, where he does no ſervice.

Q. Suppoſe a perſon, being far from home, finds a letter in a poſt-office directed to him, and he lives in a place to which the poſt generally goes, and the letter is directed to that place; will the poſt-maſter deliver him the letter, without his paying the poſtage receivable at the place to which the letter is directed.

A. Yes; the office cannot demand poſtage for a letter that it does not carry, or farther than it does carry it.

Q. Are not ferrymen in America obliged, by act of parliament, to carry over the poſts without pay?

A. Yes.

Q. Is not this a tax on the ferrymen?

A. They do not conſider it as ſuch, as they have an advantage from perſons travelling with the poſt *.

Q. If the Stamp-Act ſhould be repealed, and the crown ſhould make a requiſition to the colonies for a ſum of money, would they grant it?

A. I believe they would.

Q. Why do you think ſo?

A. I can ſpeak for the colony I live in; I had it in *inſtruction* from the aſſembly to aſſure the miniſtry, that as they always had done, ſo they ſhould always think it their duty, to grant ſuch aids to the crown as were ſuitable to their circumſtances and abilities; whenever call-

* [The ſeveral perſons travelling together, make *one* trouble. E.]

ed

ed upon for that purpoſe, in the uſual conſtitutional manner; and I had the honour of communicating this inſtruction to that honourable gentleman then miniſter *.

Q. Would they do this for a *Britiſh* concern; as ſuppoſe a war in ſome part of Europe, that did not affect them?

A. Yes, for any thing that concerned the general intereſt. They conſider themſelves as part of the whole.

Q. What is the uſual conſtitutional manner of calling on the colonies for aids?

A. A letter from the ſecretary of ſtate.

* [I take the following to be the hiſtory of this tranſaction.

Until 1763, and the years following, whenever Great Britain wanted ſupplies directly from the colonies, the ſecretary of ſtate, in his Majeſty's name, ſent them a letter of requiſition, in which the occaſion for the ſupplies was expreſſed; and the colonies returned a *free-gift*, the mode of levying which *they* wholly preſcribed. At this period, a chancellor of the exchequer, (Mr. George Grenville) ſteps forth and ſays to the houſe of commons—*We muſt call for money from the colonies in the way of a tax*; — and to the colony-agents, *write to your ſeveral colonies; and tell them, if they diſlike a duty upon* ſtamps, *and prefer any other method of raiſing the money themſelves, I ſhall be content, provided the* amount *be but raiſed.* ' That is,' obſerved the colonies, when commenting upon his terms, ' if we will not tax ourſelves, ' *as we may be directed,* the parliament will tax us.'—Dr Franklin's inſtructions, ſpoken of above, related to this gracious option.—As the colonies could not chooſe ' *another* tax,' while they diſclaimed *every* tax; the parliament paſſed the Stamp-Act.

It ſeems that the only part of the offer which bore a ſhew of favour, was the grant of the *mode of levying*,—and this was the only circumſtance which was *not new.*

See Mr. Mauduit's account of Mr. Grenville's conference with the agents, confirmed by the agents for Georgia and Virginia; and Mr. Burke's ſpeech in 1774, p. 55. E.]

Q. Is this all you mean; a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate?

A. I mean the uſual way of requiſition; in a circular letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, by his Majeſty's command; reciting the occaſion, and recommending it to the colonies to grant ſuch aids as became their loyalty, and were ſuitable to their abilities.

Q. Did the ſecretary of ſtate ever write for *money* for the crown?

A. The requiſitions have been to raiſe, clothe and pay men, which cannot be done without money.

Q. Would they grant money alone, if called on?

A. In my opinion they would, money as well as men; when they have money, or can make it.

Q. If the parliament ſhould repeal the Stamp-Act, will the aſſembly of Penſylvania reſcind their reſolutions?

A. I think not.

Q. Before there was any thought of the Stamp-Act, did they wiſh for a repreſentation in parliament?

A. No.

Q. Don't you know that there is, in the *Penſylvania* charter, an expreſs reſervation of the right of parliament to lay taxes there?

A. I know there is a clauſe in the charter, by which the King grants that he will levy no taxes on

on the inhabitants, unleſs it be with the conſent of the aſſembly, *or* by act of parliament.

Q. How then could the aſſembly of Penſylvania aſſert, that laying a tax on them by the Stamp-Act was an infringement of their rights?

A. They underſtand it thus: By the ſame charter, and otherwiſe, they are intitled to all the privileges and liberties of Engliſhmen: they find in the great charters, and the petition and declaration of rights, that one of the privileges of Engliſh ſubjects is, that they are not to be taxed but by their *common conſent*; they have therefore relied upon it, from the firſt ſettlement of the province, that the parliament never would, nor could, by colour of that clauſe in the charter, aſſume a right of taxing them, *till* it had qualified itſelf to exerciſe ſuch right; by admitting repreſentatives from the people to be taxed, who ought to make a part of that common conſent.

Q. Are there any words in the charter that juſtify that conſtruction?

A. The common rights of Engliſhmen, as declared by Magna Charta, and the petition of right; all juſtify it.

Q. Does the diſtinction between internal and external taxes exiſt in the words of the charter?

A. No, I believe not.

Q. Then may they not, by the ſame interpretation, object to the parliament's right of external taxation?

A. They never *have* hitherto. Many arguments have been lately uſed here to ſhew them that

that there is no difference, and that if you have no right to tax them internally, you have none to tax them externally, or make any other law to bind them. At preſent they do not reaſon ſo; but in time they may poſſibly be convinced by theſe arguments.

Q. Do not the reſolutions of the Penſylvania aſſembly ſay—all taxes?

A. If they do, they mean only internal taxes; the ſame words have not always the ſame meaning here and in the colonies. By taxes they mean internal taxes; by duties they mean cuſtoms; Theſe are their ideas of the language.

Q. Have you not ſeen the reſolutions of the Maſſachuſett's Bay aſſembly?

A. I have.

Q. Do they not ſay, that neither external nor internal taxes can be laid on them by parliament?

A. I don't know that they do; I believe not.

Q. If the ſame colony ſhould ſay neither tax nor impoſition could be laid, does not that province hold the power of parliament can lay neither?

A. I ſuppoſe that by the word impoſition, they do not intend to expreſs duties to be laid on goods imported, as *regulations of commerce.*

Q. What can the colonies mean then by impoſition as diſtinct from taxes?

A. They

A. They may mean many things; as impreſſing of men, or of carriages, quartering troops on private houſes, and the like; there may be great impoſitions that are not properly taxes.

Q. Is not the poſt-office rate an internal tax laid by act of parliament?

A. I have anſwered that.

Q. Are all parts of the colonies equally able to pay taxes?

A. No, certainly; the frontier parts, which have been ravaged by the enemy, are greatly diſabled by that means; and therefore, in ſuch caſes, are uſually favoured in our tax-laws.

Q. Can we, at this diſtance, be competent judges of what favours are neceſſary?

A. The parliament have ſuppoſed it, by claiming a right to make tax-laws for America: I think it impoſſible.

Q. Would the repeal of the Stamp-Act be any diſcouragement of your manufactures? Will the people that have begun to manufacture decline it?

A. Yes, I think they will; eſpecially if, at the ſame time, the trade is opened again, ſo that remittances can be eaſily made. I have known ſeveral inſtances that make it probable. In the war before laſt, tobacco being low, and making little remittance, the people of Virginia went generally into family-manufactures. Afterwards,

terwards, when tobacco bore a better price, they returned to the uſe of Britiſh manufactures. So fulling-mills were very much diſuſed in the laſt war in Penſylvania, becauſe bills were then plenty, and remittances could eaſily be made to Britain for Engliſh cloth and other goods.

Q. If the Stamp-Act ſhould be repealed, would it induce the aſſemblies of America to acknowledge the rights of parliament to tax them, and would they eraſe their reſolutions?

A. No, never.

Q. Is there no means of obliging them to eraſe thoſe reſolutions?

A. None that I know of; they will never do it, unleſs compelled by force of arms.

Q. Is there a power on earth that can force them to eraſe them?

A. No power, how great ſoever, can force men to change their opinions.

Q. Do they conſider the poſt-office as a tax, or as a regulation?

A. Not as a tax, but as a regulation and conveniency; *every aſſembly* encouraged it, and ſupported it in its infancy, by grants of money, which they would not otherwiſe have done; and the people have always paid the poſtage.

Q. When did you receive the inſtructions you mentioned *?

A. I brought them with me, when I came to England, about fifteen months ſince.

* [See p. 294. E.]

Q. When did you communicate that inſtruction to the miniſter?

A. Soon after my arrival,—while the ſtamping of America was under conſideration, and *before* the bill was brought in.

Q. Would it be moſt for the intereſt of Great Britain, to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, or in manufactures?

A. In tobacco, to be ſure.

Q. What uſed to be the pride of the Americans?

A. To indulge in the faſhions and manufactures of Great Britain.

Q. What is now their pride?

A. To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.

Withdrew.

To Dr. FRANKLIN*.

Dear SIR, *Nov.* 21, 1769.

IN the many converſations we have had together about our preſent diſputes with North America, we perfectly agreed in wiſhing they may be brought to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion. How this is to be done, is not ſo eaſily aſcertained.

Two objects, I humbly apprehend, his Majeſty's ſervants have now in contemplation. 1ſt. To relieve the colonies from the taxes complained of, which they certainly had no hand in impoſing. 2dly, To preſerve the honour, the dignity, and the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature over all his Majeſty's dominions.

As I know your ſingular knowledge of the ſubject in queſtion, and am as fully convinced of your cordial attachment to his Majeſty, and your ſincere deſire to promote the happineſs equally of all his ſubjects; I beg you would in your own clear, brief, and explicit manner, ſend me an anſwer to the following queſtions: I make this requeſt now, becauſe this matter is of the utmoſt importance, and muſt very quickly be agitated. And I do it with

* [Theſe letters have often been copied into our public prints. —Mr. Strahan, the correſpondent, is printer to the King, and now repreſentative in parliament for Malmſbury in Wiltſhire. An intimacy of long ſtanding had ſubſiſted between him and Dr. Franklin. E.]

the

the more freedom, as you know me and my motives too well to entertain the moſt remote ſuſpicion that I will make an improper uſe of any information you ſhall hereby convey to me.

1ſt. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of courſe no new impoſition) fully ſatisfy the coloniſts * ? If you anſwer in the negative,

2d. Your reaſons for that opinion ?

3d. Do you think the only effectual way of compoſing the preſent differences, is to put the Americans preciſely in the ſituation they were in before the paſſing of the late Stamp-Act ?—If that is your opinion,

4th. Your reaſons for that opinion ?

5th. If this laſt method is deemed by the legiſlature, and his Majeſty's miniſters, to be repugnant to their duty, as guardians of the juſt

* [In the year 1767, for the expreſs purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in America; glaſs, red-lead, white-lead, painters colours, paper, and *tea* (which laſt article was ſubject to various *home*-impoſitions) became charged by act of parliament, with new *permanent* duties payable *in the American ports*. Soon after, in the ſame ſeſſions, (the Eaſt India Company promiſing indemnification for the experiment,) a *temporary* alteration was made with reſpect to the *home* cuſtoms or exciſe upon certain teas; in the hope that a deduction in the nominal impoſition, by producing a more extended conſumption, would give an increaſed ſum to the exchequer. Mr. Strahan, comparing only the *amounts* of the impoſed American duty, and the deducted home-duty, determines that the Americans had ſuffered no new impoſition. The Americans, it ſeems, thought otherwiſe. Had we eſtabliſhed this precedent for a revenue, we thought we had every thing to hope; yet we affect ſurpriſe, when the colonies avoided an acquieſcence, which by parity of reaſoning gave *them* every thing to fear. E.]

rights

rights of the crown and of their fellow-ſubjects; can you ſuggeſt any other way of terminating theſe diſputes conſiſtent with the ideas of juſtice and propriety conceived by the King's ſubjects on both ſides of the Atlantic?

6th. And if this method was actually followed, do you not think it would actually encourage the violent and factious part of the coloniſts to aim at ſtill farther conceſſions from the mother-country?

7th. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reaſonable and diſpaſſionate man, and an equal friend to both ſides, imagine will be the probable conſequences?

The anſwers to theſe queſtions, I humbly conceive, will include all the information I want; and I beg you will favour me with them as ſoon as may be. Every well-wiſher to the peace and proſperity of the Britiſh empire, and every friend to our truly-happy conſtitution, muſt be deſirous of ſeeing even the moſt trivial cauſes of diſſenſion among our fellow-ſubjects removed. Our domeſtic ſquabbles, in my mind, are nothing to what I am ſpeaking of. This you know much better than I do, and therefore I need add nothing farther to recommend this ſubject to your ſerious conſideration. I am, with the moſt cordial eſteem and attachment, dear Sir, your faithful and affectionate humble Servant,

W. S.

The

The ANSWER.

Dear SIR, *Craven Street, Nov.* 29, 1769.

BEING juſt returned to town from a little excurſion, I find yours of the 21ſt, containing a number of queries that would require a pamphlet to anſwer them fully. You, however, deſire only brief anſwers, which I ſhall endeavour to give.

Previous to your queries, you tell me, that 'you apprehend his Majeſty's ſervants have now 'in contemplation, 1ſt. to relieve the coloniſts 'from the taxes complained of; 2. to preſerve 'the honour, the dignity, and the ſupremacy 'of the Britiſh legiſlature over all his Majeſty's 'dominions.' I hope your information is good: and that what you ſuppoſe to be in contemplation, will be carried into execution, by repealing all the laws that have been made for raiſing a revenue in America by authority of parliament without the conſent of the people there. The honour and dignity of the Britiſh legiſlature will not be hurt by ſuch an act of juſtice and wiſdom. The wiſeſt councils are liable to be miſled, eſpecially in matters remote from their inſpection. It is the perſiſting in an error, not the correcting it, that leſſens the honour of any man or body of men. The ſupremacy of that legiſlature, I believe, will be beſt preſerved by making a very ſparing

uſe of it; never but for the evident good of the colonies themſelves, or of the whole Britiſh empire; never for the partial advantage of Britain to their prejudice. By ſuch prudent conduct, I imagine that ſupremacy may be gradually ſtrengthened, and in time fully eſtabliſhed; but otherwiſe, I apprehend it will be diſputed, and loſt in the diſpute. At preſent the colonies conſent and ſubmit to it, for the regulations of general commerce; but a ſubmiſſion to acts of parliament was no part of their original conſtitution. Our former kings governed their colonies as they had governed their dominions in France, without the participation of Britiſh parliaments. The parliament of England never preſumed to interfere in that prerogative till the time of the great rebellion, when they uſurped the government of all the King's other dominions, Ireland, Scotland, &c. The colonies that held for the King, they conquered by force of arms, and governed afterwards as conquered countries: but New England having not oppoſed the parliament, was conſidered and treated as a ſiſter-kingdom in amity with England (as appears by the Journals, *March* 10, 1642.)

1ſt. 'Will not a repeal of all the duties '(that on tea excepted, which was before paid 'here on exportation, and of courſe no new im-'poſition) fully ſatisfy the coloniſts?'

Anſwer, I think not.

2d. 'Your reaſons for that opinion?'

A. Becauſe it is not the ſum paid in that duty on tea that is complained of as a burden, but the

the principle of the act expreſſed in the preamble; viz. That thoſe duties were laid for the better ſupport of government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in the colonies *. This the coloniſts think unneceſſary, unjuſt, and dangerous to their moſt important rights. *Unneceſſary*, becauſe in all the colonies (two or three new ones excepted †) government and the adminiſtration of juſtice were, and always had been, well ſupported without any charge to Britain: *unjuſt*, as it has made ſuch colonies liable to pay ſuch charge for others † in which they had no concern or intereſt: *dangerous*, as ſuch mode of raiſing money for thoſe purpoſes tended to render their aſſemblies uſeleſs; for if a revenue could be raiſed in the colonies for all the purpoſes of government by act of parliament, without grants from the people there, governors, who do not generally love aſſemblies, would never call them: they would be laid aſide; and when nothing ſhould depend on the people's good-will to government, their rights would be trampled on; they would be treated with contempt.—Another reaſon why I think they would not be ſatisfied with ſuch a partial repeal, is, that their agree-

* ['Men may loſe little property by an act which takes away 'all their freedom. When a man is robbed of a trifle on the 'highway, it is not the two-pence loſt that makes the capital out-'rage.' 'Would twenty ſhillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's 'fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty ſhillings, on the 'principle it was demanded, would have made him a ſlave.' See Mr. Burke's ſpeeches in 1774 and 1775. E.]

[† Nova Scotia, Georgia, the Floridas, and Canada. E.]

ments not to import till the repeal takes place, include the whole; which ſhews that they object to the whole; and thoſe agreements will continue binding on them, if the whole is not repealed.

3d. 'Do you think the only effectual way of 'compoſing the preſent differences, is to put the 'Americans preciſely in the ſituation they were in 'before the paſſing of the late ſtamp-act?'

A. I think ſo.

4th. 'Your reaſons for that opinion?'

A. Other methods have been tried. They have been rebuked in angry letters. Their petitions have been refuſed or rejected by parliament. They have been threatened with the puniſhments of treaſon by reſolves of both houſes. Their aſſemblies have been diſſolved, and troops have been ſent among them: But all theſe ways have only exaſperated their minds and widened the breach. Their agreements to uſe no more Britiſh manufactures have been ſtrengthened; and theſe meaſures, inſtead of compoſing differences, and promoting a good correſpondence, have almoſt annihilated your commerce with thoſe countries, and greatly endanger the national peace and general welfare.

5th. 'If this laſt method is deemed by the 'legiſlature and his Majeſty's miniſters to be re-'pugnant to their duty as guardians of the juſt 'rights of the crown, and of their fellow-ſub-'jects; can you ſuggeſt any other way of termi-'nating theſe diſputes, conſiſtent with the ideas 'of juſtice and propriety conceived by the King's 'ſubjects on *both* ſides the Atlantic?'

A. I do not ſee how that method can be deemed repugnant to the rights of the crown. If the Americans are put into their former ſituation, it muſt be by an act of parliament; in the paſſing of which by the King, the rights of the crown are exerciſed, not infringed. It is indifferent to the crown, whether the aids received from America are granted by parliament here, or by the aſſemblies there, provided the quantum be the ſame; and it is my opinion, that more will be generally granted there voluntarily, than can ever be exacted or collected from thence by authority of parliament.—As to the rights of fellow-ſubjects (I ſuppoſe you mean the people of Britain) I cannot conceive how thoſe will be infringed by that method. They will ſtill enjoy the right of granting their own money, and may ſtill, if it pleaſes them, keep up their claim to the right of granting ours; a right they can never exerciſe properly, for want of a ſufficient knowledge of us, our circumſtances and abilities (to ſay nothing of the little likelihood there is that we ſhould ever ſubmit to it) therefore a right that can be of no good uſe to them; and we ſhall continue to enjoy in fact the right of granting our money, with the opinion now univerſally prevailing among us, that we are free ſubjects of the King, and that fellow-ſubjects of one part of his dominions are not ſovereigns over fellow-ſubjects in any other part.—If the ſubjects on the different ſides of the Atlantic have different and oppoſite ideas of "juſtice and

" propriety," no one " method" can poſſibly be conſiſtent with both. The beſt will be, to let each enjoy their own opinions, without diſturbing them, when they do not interfere with the common good.

6th. ' And if this method were actually al-
' lowed, do you not think it would encourage
' the violent and factious part of the coloniſts
' to aim at ſtill farther conceſſions from the mo-
' ther-country?'

A. I do not think it would. There may be a few among them that deſerve the name of factious and violent, as there are in all countries; but theſe would have little influence, if the great majority of ſober reaſonable people were ſatisfied. If any colony ſhould happen to think that ſome of your regulations of trade are inconvenient to the general intereſt of the empire, or prejudicial to them without being beneficial to you; they will ſtate theſe matters to parliament in petitions as heretofore; but will, I believe, take no violent ſteps to obtain what they may hope for in time from the wiſdom of government here. I know of nothing elſe they can have in view: the notion that prevails here of their being deſirous to ſet up a kingdom or commonwealth of their own, is, to my certain knowledge, entirely groundleſs. I therefore think, that on a total repeal of all duties, laid expreſsly for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue on the people of America, without their conſent, the preſent uneaſineſs would ſubſide;

the

the agreements not to import would be diſſolved; and the commerce flouriſh as heretofore;—and I am confirmed in this ſentiment by all the letters I have received from America, and by the opinions of all the ſenſible people who have lately come from thence, crown-officers excepted. I know, indeed, that the people of Boſton are grievouſly offended by the quartering of troops among them, —as they think, contrary to law; and are very angry with the Board of Commiſſioners who have calumniated them to government;—but as I ſuppoſe the withdrawing of thoſe troops may be a conſequence of reconciliating meaſures taking place; and that the commiſſion alſo will be either diſſolved if found uſeleſs, or filled with more temperate and prudent men, if ſtill deemed uſeful and neceſſary; I do not imagine theſe particulars would prevent a return of the harmony ſo much to be wiſhed *.

* ['The oppoſition [to Lord Rockingham's adminiſtration]' ſays Lord Cheſterfield, 'are for taking vigorous, as they call them, but 'I call them violent meaſures; not leſs than *les dragonades*; and to 'have the tax collected by the troops we have there. For my part, 'I never ſaw a froward child mended by whipping: and I would not 'have the mother become a ſtep-mother.' Letter, No. 360.

'Is it a certain maxim,' pleads Mr. Burke, 'that the fewer cauſes 'of diſſatisfaction are left by government, the more the ſubject will 'be inclined to reſiſt and rebel?' 'I confeſs I do not feel the leaſt 'alarm from the diſcontents which are to ariſe from putting people 'at their eaſe. Nor do I apprehend the deſtruction of this empire; 'from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two mil-'lions of my fellow-citizens, ſome ſhare of thoſe rights, upon which 'I have always been taught to value myſelf.' Speeches in 1774 and 1775. E.]

7th. 'If they are relieved in part only, what 'do you, as a reaſonable and diſpaſſionate man, 'and an equal friend to both ſides, imagine 'will be the probable conſequence?'

A. I imagine, that repealing the offenſive duties in part will anſwer no end to this country; the commerce will remain obſtructed, and the Americans go on with their ſchemes of frugality, induſtry, and manufactures, to their own great advantage. How much that may tend to the prejudice of Britain, I cannot ſay; perhaps not ſo much as ſome apprehend, ſince ſhe may in time find new markets *. But I think, if the union of the two countries continues to ſubſiſt, it will not hurt the general intereſt; for whatever wealth Britain loſes by the failing of its trade with the colonies, America will gain; and the crown will receive equal aids from its ſubjects upon the whole, if not greater.

And now I have anſwered your queſtions as to what may be, in my opinion, the conſequences of this or that ſuppoſed meaſure; I will go a little further, and tell you what I fear is more likely to come to paſs in *reality*. I apprehend that the miniſtry, at leaſt the American part of it, being fully perſuaded of the right of parliament; think it ought to be enforced, whatever may be the conſequences; and at the ſame time do not believe, there is even now any abatement of the

* [Need I, at this period of the work point out marks of our author's candor and foreſight? E.]

trade

trade between the two countries on account of theſe diſputes; or that if there is, it is ſmall, and cannot long continue. They are aſſured by the crown-officers in America, that manufactures are impoſſible there; that the diſcontented are few, and perſons of little conſequence; that almoſt all the people of property and importance are ſatisfied, and diſpoſed to ſubmit quietly to the taxing power of parliament; and that, if the revenue-acts are continued, and thoſe duties only that are called anti-commercial be repealed, and others perhaps laid in their ſtead; power ere long will be patiently ſubmitted to, and the agreements not to import be broken, when they are found to produce no change of meaſures here. From theſe and ſimilar miſinformations, which ſeem to be credited, I think it likely that no thorough redreſs of grievances will be afforded to America this Seſſion. This may inflame matters ſtill more in that country; farther raſh meaſures there, may create more reſentment here; that may produce not merely ill-adviſed diſſolutions of their aſſemblies, as laſt year, but attempts to diſſolve their conſtitution *; more troops may be ſent over, which will create more uneaſineſs; to juſtify the meaſures of government, your writers will revile the Americans in your newſpapers, as they have already begun to do; treating them as miſcreants, rogues, daſtards, rebels, &c. to alienate the minds of the people here from them, and which will tend

* [This was afterwards attempted by the Britiſh legiſlature, in the caſe of the Maſſachuſett's Bay province. E.]

farther

farther to diminiſh their affections to this country. Poſſibly too, ſome of their warm patriots may be diſtracted enough to expoſe themſelves by ſome mad action to be ſent for hither; and government here be indiſcreet enough to hang them, on the act of Henry VIII †. Mutual provocations will thus go on to complete the ſeparation; and inſtead of that cordial affection that once and ſo long exiſted, and that harmony ſo ſuitable to the circumſtances, and ſo neceſſary to the happineſs, ſtrength, ſafety, and welfare of both countries; an implacable malice and mutual hatred, ſuch as we now ſee ſubſiſting between the Spaniards and Portugueſe, the Genoeſe and Corſicans, from the ſame original miſconduct in the ſuperior governments, will take place: the ſameneſs of nation, the ſimilarity of religion, manners, and language, not in the leaſt preventing in our caſe, more than it did in theirs.—I hope, however, that this may all prove falſe prophecy, and that you and I may live to ſee as ſincere and perfect a friendſhip eſtabliſhed between our reſpective countries, as has ſo many years ſubſiſted between Mr. Strahan, and his truly affectionate old friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

† [The lords and commons very prudently concurred in an addreſs for this purpoſe; and the king graciouſly aſſured them of his compliance with their wiſhes. E.]

A PRUSSIAN EDICT, &c.

Dantzick, Sept. 5, 1773*.

WE have long wondered here at the ſupineneſs of the *Engliſh* nation, under the *Pruſſian* impoſitions upon its trade entering our port. We did not, till lately, know the claims, ancient and modern, that hang over that nation; and therefore could not ſuſpect that it might ſubmit to thoſe impoſitions from a ſenſe of duty, or from principles of equity. The following edict, juſt made public, may, if ſerious, throw ſome light upon this matter:

'FREDERICK, by the grace of God, King of 'Pruſſia, &c. &c. &c. to all preſent and to come ‡, 'health. The peace now enjoyed throughout Our 'dominions, having afforded us leiſure to apply 'Ourſelves to the regulation of commerce, the 'improvement of Our finances, and at the ſame 'time the eaſing Our *domeſtic* ſubjects in their 'taxes: for theſe cauſes, and other good conſi-'derations Us thereunto moving, We hereby 'make known, that, after having deliberated 'theſe affairs in Our council, preſent Our dear 'brothers, and other great officers of the ſtate,

* [This *Intelligence extraordinary*, I believe, firſt appeared in the Public Advertiſer. I have reprinted it from a copy which I found in the Gentleman's Magazine. E.]

‡ *A tous preſens et à venir.* ORIGINAL.

'members

'members of the ſame; We, of Our certain 'knowledge, full power, and authority royal, 'have made and iſſued this preſent edict, viz.

'Whereas it is well known to all the world, 'that the firſt *German* ſettlements made in the 'iſland of Britain, were by colonies of people, 'ſubject to Our renowned ducal anceſtors, and 'drawn from their dominions, under the conduct 'of Hengiſt, Horſa, Hella, Uffa, Cerdicus, Ida, 'and others; And that the ſaid colonies have 'flouriſhed under the protection of Our auguſt 'houſe, for ages paſt; have never been eman-'cipated therefrom; and yet have hitherto yielded 'little profit to the ſame: And whereas We Our-'ſelf have in the laſt war fought for and defended 'the ſaid colonies, againſt the power of France, 'and thereby enabled them to make conqueſts 'from the ſaid power in America; for which We 'have not yet received adequate compenſation: 'And whereas it is juſt and expedient that a re-'venue ſhould be raiſed from the ſaid colonies in 'Britain, towards Our indemnification; and that 'thoſe who are deſcendents of Our ancient ſub-'jects, and thence ſtill owe Us due obedience, 'ſhould contribute to the repleniſhing of Our 'royal coffers; (as they muſt have done, had their 'anceſtors remained in the territories now to Us 'appertaining):—We do therefore hereby ordain 'and command, That, from and after the date 'of theſe preſents, there ſhall be levied, and paid 'to Our officers of the *cuſtoms*, on all goods, 'wares, and merchandizes, and on all grain and

'other

'other produce of the earth, exported from the 'said island of Britain, and on all goods of what-'ever kind imported into the same; a duty of 'four and a half per cent. ad valorem, for the 'use of Us and Our successors.—And that the 'said duty may more effectually be collected, We 'do hereby ordain, that all ships or vessels bound 'from Great Britain to any other part of the 'world, or from any other part of the world to 'Great Britain, shall in their respective voyages 'touch at Our port of Koningsberg, there to be 'unladen, searched, and charged with the said 'duties.

'And whereas there hath been from time to 'time discovered in the said island of Great Britain, 'by our colonists there, many mines or beds of '*iron*-stone; and sundry subjects of Our ancient 'dominion, skilful in converting the said stone 'into metal, have in time past transported them-'selves thither, carrying with them and commu-'nicating that art; and the inhabitants of the said 'island, presuming that they had a natural right 'to make the best use they could of the natural 'productions of their country, for their own be-'nefit, have not only built furnaces for smelting 'the said stone into iron, but have erected pla-'ting-forges, slitting-mills, and steel-furnaces, for 'the more convenient manufacturing of the same; 'thereby endangering a diminution of the said 'manufacture in Our ancient dominion;—We do 'therefore hereby farther ordain, That, from and 'after the date hereof, no mill or other engine for

'slitting

'ſlitting or rolling of iron, or any plating-forge 'to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for 'making ſteel, ſhall be erected or continued in 'the ſaid iſland of Great Britain: And the Lord 'Lieutenant of every county in the ſaid iſland is 'hereby commanded, on information of any ſuch 'erection within his county, to order, and by 'force to cauſe the ſame to be abated and de-'ſtroyed; as he ſhall anſwer the neglect thereof 'to Us at his peril.—But we are nevertheleſs gra-'ciouſly pleaſed to permit the inhabitants of the 'ſaid iſland to tranſport their iron into Pruſſia, 'there to be manufactured, and to them returned; 'they paying Our Pruſſian ſubjects for the work-'manſhip, with all the coſts of commiſſion, 'freight, and riſk, coming and returning; any 'thing herein contained to the contrary notwith-'ſtanding.

'We do not, however, think fit to extend this 'Our indulgence to the article of *wool*; but 'meaning to encourage not only the manufactur-'ing of woollen cloth, but alſo the raiſing of wool, 'in Our ancient dominions; and to prevent both, 'as much as may be, in Our ſaid iſland,—We do 'hereby abſolutely forbid the tranſportation of 'wool from thence even to the mother-country, 'Pruſſia:—And that thoſe iſlanders may be far-'ther and more effectually reſtrained in making 'any advantage of their own wool, in the way of 'manufacture, We command that none ſhall be 'carried out of one county into another; nor 'ſhall any worſted, bay, or woollen-yarn, cloth,

'ſays,

'ſays, bays, kerſeys, ſerges, frizes, druggets,
'cloth-ſerges, ſhalloons, or any other drapery
'ſtuffs, or woollen manufactures whatſoever,
'made up or mixed with wool in any of the ſaid
'counties, be carried into any other county, or
'be water-borne even acroſs the ſmalleſt river or
'creek; on penalty of forfeiture of the ſame, to-
'gether with the boats, carriages, horſes, &c.
'that ſhall be employed in removing them.——
'Nevertheleſs, Our loving ſubjects there are
'hereby permitted (if they think proper) to uſe
'all their wool as manure, for the improvement
'of their lands.

'And whereas the art and myſtery of making
'*hats* hath arrived at great perfection in Pruſſia;
'and the making of hats by Our remoter ſubjects
'ought to be as much as poſſible reſtrained: And
'foraſmuch as the iſlanders before mentioned, be-
'ing in poſſeſſion of wool, beaver, and other furs,
'have preſumptuouſly conceived they had a right
'to make ſome advantage thereof, by manufac-
'turing the ſame into hats, to the prejudice of
'Our domeſtic manufacture:—We do therefore
'hereby ſtrictly command and ordain, that no
'hats or felts whatſoever, dyed or undyed, fi-
'niſhed or unfiniſhed, ſhall be loaden or put into
'or upon any veſſel, cart, carriage, or horſe;
'to be tranſported or conveyed out of one county
'in the ſaid iſland into another county, or to any
'other place whatſoever, by any perſon or perſons
'whatſoever; on pain of forfeiting the ſame, with
'a penalty of five hundred pounds ſterling for
'every

'every offence. Nor ſhall any hat-maker, in 'any of the ſaid counties, employ more than two 'apprentices, on penalty of five pounds ſterling 'per month: We intending hereby that ſuch 'hatmakers, being ſo reſtrained, both in the pro-'duction and ſale of their commodity, may find 'no advantage in continuing their buſineſs.— 'But, leſt the ſaid iſlanders ſhould ſuffer incon-'veniency by the want of hats, we are farther 'graciouſly pleaſed to permit them to ſend their 'beaver furs to Pruſſia; and We alſo permit 'hats made thereof to be exported from Pruſſia 'to Britain; the people thus favoured to pay 'all coſts and charges of manufacturing, intereſt, 'commiſſion to Our merchants, inſurance and 'freight going and returning; as in the caſe of 'iron.

'And laſtly, being willing farther to favour 'our ſaid colonies in Britain, We do hereby al-'ſo ordain and command, that all the *thieves*, 'highway and ſtreet robbers, houſebreakers, 'forgerers, murderers, ſ—d—tes, and villains 'of every denomination, who have forfeited 'their lives to the law in Pruſſia; but whom 'We, in Our great clemency, do not think fit 'here to hang; ſhall be emptied out of Our 'gaols into the ſaid iſland of Great Britain, for 'the better peopling of that country.

'We flatter ourſelves that theſe Our royal 'regulations and commands will be thought '*juſt and reaſonable* by Our much-favoured 'coloniſts in England; the ſaid regulations be-

'ing

'ing copied from their ſtatutes of 10 and 11 'Will. III. c. 10.—5 Geo. II. c. 22.—23 Geo. II. 'c. 29.—4 Geo. I. c. 11. and from other equi-'table laws made by their parliaments; or from 'inſtructions given by their princes, or from 'reſolutions of both houſes, entered into for 'the good government of their *own colonies in* '*Ireland and America.*

'And all perſons in the ſaid iſland are here-'by cautioned not to oppoſe in any wiſe the 'execution of this Our edict, or any part thereof, 'ſuch oppoſition being high-treaſon; of which 'all who are ſuſpected ſhall be tranſported in 'fetters from Britain to Pruſſia, there to be tried 'and executed according to the Pruſſian law.

Such is Our pleaſure.

'Given at Potſdam, this twenty-fifth day 'of the month of Auguſt, One thouſand 'ſeven hundred and ſeventy-three, and in 'the thirty-third year of Our reign.

'By the King, in his council.

'RECHTMÆSSIG, Sec.'

Some take this edict to be merely one of the King's *Jeux d'Eſprit:* others ſuppoſe it ſerious, and that he means a quarrel with England: but all here think the aſſertion it concludes with, 'that theſe regulations are copied from acts of 'the *Engliſh* parliament reſpecting their colonies,' a very injurious one; It being impoſſible to believe, that a people diſtinguiſhed for their love of liberty; a nation ſo wiſe, ſo liberal in its ſentiments, ſo juſt and equitable towards its neighbours; ſhould, from mean and injudicious views of petty immediate profit, treat its own children in a manner ſo arbitrary and tyrannical!

PREFACE

PREFACE *by the* BRITISH EDITOR [Dr. Franklin] *to 'The votes and proceedings of the freeholders, 'and other inhabitants of the town of Boſton, 'in town-meeting aſſembled according to law '(publiſhed by order of the town), &c *.'*

ALL accounts of the diſcontent ſo general in our colonies, have of late years been induſtriouſly ſmothered and concealed here; it ſeeming to ſuit the views of the American miniſter ‡ to have it underſtood, that by his great abilities, all faction was ſubdued, all oppoſition ſuppreſſed, and the whole country quieted. That the true ſtate of affairs there may be known, and the true cauſes of that diſcontent well underſtood; the following

* ['Boſton printed: London reprinted, and ſold by J. Wilkie, 'in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1773.'—I have given the reader *only the preface*.

It is ſaid, that this little piece very much irritated the miniſtry. It was their determination, that the Americans ſhould receive teas only from Great Britain. And accordingly the Eaſt India company ſent out large cargoes under their protection. The coloniſts every where refuſed, either entrance, or elſe permiſſion of ſale; except at Boſton; where, the force of government preventing more moderate meaſures, certain perſons in diſguiſe threw it into the ſea.

The preamble of the ſtamp act produced the tea act; the tea act produced violence; violence, acts of parliament; acts of parliament, a revolt.——'A little neglect,' ſays *poor Richard*, 'may breed great 'miſchief: for want of a nail the ſhoe was loſt; for want of a ſhoe 'the horſe was loſt; for want of a horſe the rider was loſt; being 'overtaken and ſlain by the *enemy*; all for want of a little care about 'a horſe-ſhoe nail.' E.]

‡ [Lord Hilſborough.—This nobleman, already firſt Lord of trade, was introduced in 1768 into the *new-titled office* of Secretary of ſtate for the colonies. Theſe poſts have ſince gone together. E.]

piece (not the production of a private writer, but the unanimous act of a large American city) lately printed in New England; is republiſhed here. This nation, and the other nations of Europe, may thereby learn, with more certainty, the grounds of a diſſenſion, that poſſibly may, ſooner or later, have conſequences intereſting to them all.

The colonies had, from their firſt ſettlement, been governed with more eaſe, than perhaps can be equalled by any inſtance in hiſtory of dominions ſo diſtant. Their affection and reſpect for this country, while they were treated with kindneſs, produced an almoſt implicit obedience to the inſtructions of the Prince, and even to acts of the Britiſh parliament; though the right of binding them by a legiſlature, in which they were unrepreſented, was never clearly underſtood. That reſpect and affection produced a partiality in favour of every thing that was Engliſh; Whence their preference of Engliſh modes and manufactures; their ſubmiſſion to reſtraints on the importation of foreign goods, which they had but little deſire to uſe; and the monopoly we ſo long enjoyed of their commerce, to the great inriching of our merchants and artificers.— The miſtaken policy of the ſtamp act firſt diſturbed this happy ſituation; but the flame thereby raiſed was ſoon extinguiſhed by its repeal, and the old harmony reſtored, with all its concomitant advantage to our commerce. The ſubſequent act of another adminiſtration, which, not con-

tent with an eſtabliſhed excluſion of foreign manufactures, began to make our own merchandize dearer to the conſumers there, by heavy duties; revived it again: and combinations were entered into throughout the continent, to ſtop trading with Britain till thoſe duties ſhould be repealed. All were accordingly repealed but one—*the duty on tea*. This was reſerved (profeſſedly ſo) as a ſtanding claim and exerciſe of the right aſſumed by parliament of laying ſuch duties *.—The colonies, on this repeal, retracted their agreement, ſo far as related to all other goods, except that on which the duty was retained. This was trumpeted here by the miniſter for the colonies as a triumph; There it was conſidered only as a decent and equitable meaſure, ſhewing a willingneſs to meet the mother-country in every advance towards a reconciliation; and a diſpoſition to a good underſtanding ſo prevalent, that poſſibly they might ſoon have relaxed in the article of tea alſo. But the ſyſtem of commiſſioners of cuſtoms, officers without end, with fleets and armies for collecting and enforcing thoſe duties, being continued; and theſe acting with much indiſcretion and raſhneſs, (giving great and unneceſſary trouble and ob-

* [Mr. Burke tells us (in his ſpeech in 1774) that this preambulary tax had loſt us at once the benefit of the weſt and of the eaſt; had thrown open folding-doors to contraband; and would be the means of giving the profits of the colony-trade to every nation, but ourſelves. He adds in the ſame place, 'It is indeed a 'tax of ſophiſtry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of diſputation, a tax of 'war and rebellion, a tax for any thing but benefit to the im-'poſers, or ſatisfaction to the ſubject.' E.]

ſtruction to buſineſs, commencing unjuſt and vexatious ſuits, and haraſſing commerce in all its branches, while that the miniſter kept the people in a conſtant ſtate of irritation by inſtructions which appeared to have no other end than the gratifying his private reſentments *,) occaſioned a perſevering adherence to their reſolutions in that particular: and the event ſhould be a leſſon to miniſters, not to riſque through pique, the obſtructing any one branch of trade; ſince the courſe and connection of general buſineſs may be thereby diſturbed to a degree, impoſſible to be foreſeen or imagined. For it appears that the colonies, finding their humble petitions to have this duty repealed, were rejected and treated with contempt; and that the produce of the duty was applied to the rewarding, with undeſerved ſalaries and penſions, every one of their enemies; the duty itſelf became more odious, and their reſolution to ſhare it more vigorous and obſtinate.—The Dutch, the Danes, and French, took this opportunity thus offered them by our imprudence; and began to ſmuggle their teas into the plantations. At firſt this was ſomething difficult; but at length, as all buſineſs is improved by practice, it became eaſy. A coaſt fifteen thouſand miles in length could not in all parts be guarded, even by the whole navy of England; eſpecially where their reſtraining authority was by all the inhabitants deemed un-

* Some of his circular letters had been criticized, and expoſed by one or two of the American aſſemblies.

con-

conſtitutional, the ſmuggling of courſe conſidered as patriotiſm. The needy wretches too, who, with ſmall ſalaries, were truſted to watch the ports day and night, in all weathers, found it eaſier and more profitable, not only to wink, but to ſleep in their beds; the merchants pay being more generous than the King's.—Other India goods alſo, which, by themſelves, would not have made a ſmuggling voyage ſufficiently profitable, accompanied tea to advantage; and it is feared the cheap French ſilks, formerly rejected as not to the taſte of the colonies, may have found their way with the wares of India; and now eſtabliſhed themſelves in the popular uſe and opinion.

It is ſuppoſed that at leaſt a million of Americans drink tea twice a day, which, at the firſt coſt here, can ſcarce be reckoned, at leſs than half-a-guinea a head per annum. This market, that in the five years which have run on ſince the act paſſed, would have paid 2,500,000 guineas for tea alone, into the coffers of the company, we have wantonly loſt to foreigners.—Meanwhile it is ſaid the duties have ſo diminiſhed, that the whole remittance of the laſt year amounted to no more than the pitiful ſum of 85l.* for the expence of ſome hundred thouſands, in armed ſhips and ſoldiers, to ſupport

* ['Eighty-five pounds I am aſſured, my lords, is the whole 'equivalent, we have received for all the hatred and miſchief, 'and all the infinite loſſes this kingdom has ſuffered during that 'year, in her diſputes with North America.' See the Biſhop of 'St. Aſaph's intended ſpeech. E.]

the officers. Hence the tea, and other India goods, which might have been ſold in America, remain rotting in the company's warehouſes *; while thoſe of foreign ports are known to be cleared by the American demand. Hence, in ſome degree, the company's inability to pay their bills; the ſinking of their ſtock, by which millions of property have been annihilated; the lowering of their dividend, whereby ſo many muſt be diſtreſſed; the loſs to government of the ſtipulated 400,000l. a year †, which muſt make a proportionable reduction in our ſavings towards the diſcharge of our enormous debt: And hence in part the ſevere blow ſuffered by credit in general ‡, to the ruin of many families; the ſtagnation of buſineſs in Spitalfields and at Mancheſter, through want of vent for their goods;—with other future evils, which, as they cannot, from the numerous and ſecret connections in general commerce, eaſily be foreſeen, can hardly be avoided.

* [At this time they contained many millions of pounds of tea, including the uſual ſtock on hand. Mr. Burke, in his ſpeech in 1774, ſuppoſes that America might have given a vent for ten millions of pounds. This ſeems to have been the greater part of the whole quantity. E.]

† [On account of a temporary compromiſe of certain diſputes with government. E.]

‡ [Seen in certain memorable mercantile failures in the year 1772. E.]

PROCEED-

PROCEEDINGS AND EXAMINATION, &c.

To the CLERK *of the Council in waiting* *.

(Copy.)

SIR, Whitehall, Dec. 3, 1773.

THE agent for the houſe of repreſentatives of the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, [Dr. Franklin] having delivered to Lord Dartmouth, an addreſs of that houſe to the King, ſigned by their ſpeaker; complaining of the conduct of the Governor [Hutchinſon] and Lieutenant Governor [Andrew Oliver] of that province, in reſpect to certain private

* [Governor Hutchinſon, Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver, Charles Paxton, Eſq; Nathaniel Rogers, Eſq; and Mr. G. Roome, having ſent from Boſton certain repreſentations and informations to Thomas Whately, Eſq; member of parliament, private Secretary to *Mr. George Grenville* (the father of the ſtamp act) when in office, and afterwards one of the Lords of trade; theſe letters were, by a particular channel, conveyed back to Boſton. The aſſembly of the province were ſo much exaſperated, that they returned home atteſted copies of the letters, accompanied with a petition and remonſtrance, for the removal of Governor Hutchinſon, and Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver, from their poſts. The council of the province, likewiſe, on their part, entered into thirteen reſolves, in tendency and import ſimilar to the petition of the aſſembly; five of which reſolves were unanimous, and only one of them had ſo many as three diſſentients. In conſequence of the aſſembly's petition, the above proceedings and examination took place.

Dr. Franklin having naturally a large ſhare in theſe tranſactions, made ſtill larger by the impolitic and indecent perſecution of his character, I have exhibited the whole more at length, than I ſhould otherwiſe have thought proper. E.]

letters

letters written by them to their correſpondent in England; and praying that they may be removed from their poſts in that government: his Lordſhip hath preſented the ſaid addreſs to his Majeſty; and his Majeſty having ſignified his pleaſure, that the ſaid addreſs ſhould be laid before his Majeſty in his privy council, I am directed by Lord Dartmouth to tranſmit the ſame accordingly, together with a copy of the agent's letter to his Lordſhip, accompanying the ſaid addreſs.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) J. POWNALL.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of DARTMOUTH.

(Copy.)

My LORD, London, Aug. 21, 1773.

I HAVE juſt received from the houſe of repreſentatives of the Maſſachuſett's Bay, their addreſs to the King; which I now incloſe, and ſend to your Lordſhip; with my humble requeſt in their behalf, that you would be pleaſed to preſent it to his Majeſty the firſt convenient opportunity.

I have the pleaſure of hearing from that province by my late letters, that a ſincere diſpoſition prevails in the people there to be on good terms with the mother-country; that the aſſembly have declared their deſire only to be put into the ſituation they were in before the ſtamp-act: *They aim at no novelties.* And it is ſaid that having lately diſcovered, as they think, the authors of their grievances to be ſome of their own people; their reſentment againſt Britain is thence much abated.

This good diſpoſition of theirs (will your Lordſhip permit me to ſay) may be cultivated by a favourable anſwer to this addreſs, which I therefore hope your goodneſs will endeavour to obtain.

With the greateſt reſpect,

I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN,

Agent for the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

THE PETITION.

To the KING'*s moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

Moſt gracious SOVEREIGN,

WE your Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, the repreſentatives of your ancient colony of Maſſachuſett's Bay,

Bay, in general court legally aſſembled, by virtue of your Majeſty's writ under the hand and ſeal of the Governor; beg leave to lay this our humble petition before Majeſty.

Nothing but the ſenſe of duty we owe to our Sovereign, and the obligation we are under to conſult the peace and ſafety of the province; could induce us to remonſtrate to your Majeſty [concerning] the mal-conduct of perſons who have heretofore had the confidence and eſteem of this people; and whom your Majeſty has been pleaſed, from the pureſt motives of rendering your ſubjects happy, to advance to the higheſt places of truſt and authority in the province.

Your Majeſty's humble petitioners, with the deepeſt concern and anxiety, have ſeen the diſcords and animoſities which have too long ſubſiſted between your ſubjects of the parent-ſtate and thoſe of the American colonies. And we have trembled with apprehenſions, that the conſequences naturally ariſing therefrom, would at length prove fatal to both countries.

Permit us humbly to ſuggeſt to your Majeſty, that your ſubjects here have been inclined to believe, that the grievances which they have ſuffered, and ſtill continue to ſuffer; have been occaſioned by your Majeſty's miniſters and principal ſervants being, unfortunately for us, *miſinformed* in certain facts of very intereſting importance to us. It is for this reaſon that former aſſemblies have, from time to time, prepared a true ſtate of facts to be laid before your Majeſty; but

but their humble remonſtrances and petitions, it is preſumed, have by ſome means been prevented from reaching your royal hand.

Your Majeſty's petitioners have very lately had before them *certain papers*, from which they humbly conceive, it is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that there has been long a conſpiracy of evil men, in this province; who have contemplated meaſures and formed a plan to advance themſelves to power, and raiſe their own fortunes; by means deſtructive of the charter of the province, at the expence of the quiet of the nation, and to the annihilating of the rights and liberties of the American colonies.

And we do with all due ſubmiſſion to your Majeſty beg leave particularly to complain of the conduct of his Excellency Thomas Hutchinſon, Eſq; Governor, and the Honourable Andrew Oliver, Eſquire, Lieutenant Governor of this your Majeſty's province; as having a natural and efficacious tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of your Majeſty, our rightful Sovereign, from this your loyal province; to deſtroy that harmony and good-will between Great Britain and this colony, which every honeſt ſubject ſhould ſtrive to eſtabliſh; to excite the reſentment of the Britiſh adminiſtration againſt this province; to defeat the endeavours of our agents and friends to ſerve us by a fair repreſentation of our ſtate of facts; to prevent our humble and repeated petitions from reaching the ear of your Majeſty, or having their deſired effect. And finally, that the ſaid Thomas Hutchinſon and Andrew Oliver have been among the chief inſtru-

inſtruments in introducing a fleet and army into this province, to eſtabliſh and perpetuate their plans; whereby they have been not only greatly inſtrumental [in] diſturbing the peace and harmony of the government, and cauſing unnatural and hateful diſcords and animoſities between the ſeveral parts of your Majeſty's extenſive dominions; but are juſtly chargeable with all that corruption of morals, and all that confuſion, miſery, and bloodſhed, which have been the natural effects of poſting an army in a populous town.

Wherefore we moſt humbly pray, that your Majeſty would be pleaſed to remove from their poſts in this government the ſaid Thomas Hutchinſon, Eſquire, and Andrew Oliver, Eſquire; who have, by their above-mentioned conduct, and otherwiſe, rendered themſelves juſtly obnoxious to your loving ſubjects, and entirely loſt their confidence: and place ſuch good and faithful men in their ſtead as your Majeſty in your wiſdom ſhall think fit.

In the name and by order of the houſe of repreſentatives,

THOMAS CUSHING, *Speaker.*

To the Lords Committee of his Majeſty's Privy Council for Plantation Affairs.

The PETITION *of* ISRAEL MAUDUIT,

Humbly ſheweth unto your Lordſhips,

THAT having been informed that an addreſs, in the name of the Houſe of Repreſentatives of his Majeſty's colony of Maſſachuſett's Bay, has been preſented to his Majeſty by Benjamin Franklin, Eſquire, praying the removal of his Majeſty's Governor and Lieutenant Governor; which is appointed to be taken into conſideration on Thurſday next; your Petitioner, on the behalf of the ſaid Governor and Lieutenant Governor, humbly prays, that he may be heard by counſel in relation to the ſame, before your Lordſhips ſhall make any report on the ſaid addreſs.

Clements Lane,
Jan. 10, 1775. ISRAEL MAUDUIT.

The Examination of Dr. FRANKLIN, *at the* COUNCIL CHAMBER, *Jan.* 11, 1774 *. *Preſent, Lord Preſident, the Secretaries of*

* [The Editor has taken this examination from Mr. Mauduit's copy of *the Letters of Governor Hutchinſon, &c.* ſecond edition, 1774, p. 77. He has Mr. Mauduit's authority for ſuppoſing it faithfully repreſented. E.]

State,

State, and many other Lords; Dr. Franklin *and Mr.* Bollan; *Mr.* Mauduit *and Mr.* Wedderburn.

[*Dr.* Franklin's *Letter and the Addreſs, Mr.* Pownall's *Letter, and Mr.* Mauduit's *Petition, were read.*]

Mr. Wedderburn. The addreſs mentions certain papers: I could wiſh to be informed what are thoſe papers.

Dr. Franklin. They are the letters of Mr. Hutchinſon and Mr. Oliver.

Court. Have you brought them?

Dr. Franklin. No; but here are atteſted copies.

Court. Do you mean to found a charge upon them? if you do, you muſt produce the letters.

Dr. Franklin. Theſe copies are atteſted by ſeveral Gentlemen at Boſton, and a Notary Public.

Mr. Wedderburn. My Lords, we ſhall not take advantage of any imperfection in the proof. We admit that the letters are Mr. Hutchinſon's and Mr. Oliver's hand writing: reſerving to ourſelves the right of inquiring how they were obtained.

Dr. Franklin. I did not expect that counſel would have been employed on this occaſion.

Court. Had you not notice ſent you of Mr. Mauduit's having petitioned to be heard by counſel

ſel on behalf of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor.

Dr. Franklin. I did receive ſuch notice; but I thought this had been a matter of *politics*, not of law, and have not brought my counſel.

Court. Where a charge is brought, the parties have a right to be heard by counſel or not, as they chooſe.

Mr. Mauduit. My Lords, I am not a native of that country, as theſe Gentlemen are. I know well Dr. Franklin's abilities, and wiſh to put the defence of my friends more upon a parity with the attack; he will not therefore wonder that I chooſe to appear before your Lordſhips with the aſſiſtance of counſel. My friends, in their letters to me, have deſired (if any proceedings, as they ſay, ſhould be had upon this addreſs) that they may have a hearing in their own juſtification, that their innocence may be fully cleared, and their honour vindicated; and have made proviſion accordingly. I do not think myſelf at liberty therefore to give up the aſſiſtance of my counſel, in defending them againſt this unjuſt accuſation.

Court. Dr. Franklin may have the aſſiſtance of counſel, or go on without it, as he ſhall chooſe.

Dr. Franklin. I deſire to have counſel.

Court. What time do you want?

Dr. Franklin. Three Weeks.

Ordered that the further proceedings be on Saturday 29th Inſtant *.

* [The privy council accordingly met on the 29th of January, 1774; when Mr. Dunning and Mr. John Lee appeared as counſel for the aſſembly, and Mr. Wedderburne as counſel for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Wedderburne was very long in his anſwer; which chiefly related to the mode of obtaining and ſending away Mr. Whately's letters; and ſpoke of Dr. Franklin in terms of abuſe, which never eſcape from one gentleman towards another.—In the event, the committee of the privy council made a report, in which was expreſſed the following opinion. 'The Lords of the committee do agree humbly to report, as their opinion to your Majeſty, that the petition is founded upon reſolutions formed on falſe and erroneous allegations; and is groundleſs, vexatious, and ſcandalous; and calculated only for the ſeditious purpoſes of keeping up a ſpirit of clamour and diſcontent in the ſaid province. And the Lords of the committee do further humbly report to your Majeſty, that nothing has been laid before them which does or can, in their opinion, in any manner, or in any degree, impeach the honour, integrity, or conduct of the ſaid Governor or Lieutenant Governor; and their Lordſhips are humbly of opinion, that the ſaid petition ought to be diſmiſſed.'

Feb. 7th, 1774. 'His Majeſty taking the ſaid report into conſideration, was pleaſed, with the advice of his privy council, to approve thereof; and to order that the ſaid petition of the houſe of repreſentatives of the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay be diſmiſſed the board—as groundleſs, vexatious, and ſcandalous; and calculated only for the ſeditious purpoſe of keeping up a ſpirit of clamour and diſcontent in the ſaid province.'—A former petition againſt Governor Bernard met with a diſmiſſion couched in ſimilar terms. E.]

Account

Account of Governor Hutchinſon's *Letters, &c.*

To the Printer of the PUBLIC ADVERTISER *.

SIR,

FINDING that two Gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel about a tranſaction and its circumſtances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent; I think it incumbent upon me to declare (for the prevention of farther miſchief, as far as ſuch a declaration may contribute to prevent it) that I alone am the perſon who obtained and tranſmitted to Boſton the letters in queſtion. Mr. W. could not communicate them, becauſe they were never in his poſſeſſion; and for the ſame reaſon, they could not be taken from him by

* [Some letters had paſſed in the public prints between Mr. Thomas Whately's brother and Mr. John Temple, concerning the manner in which the letters of Governor Hutchinſon, &c. had eſcaped from among the papers of Mr. Thomas Whately, at this time deceaſed.

The one Gentleman wiſhed to avoid the charge of having given them; the other, of having taken them. At length the diſpute became ſo perſonal and pointed, that Mr. Temple thought it neceſſary to call the brother into the field. The letter of provocation appeared in the morning, and the parties met in the afternoon. Dr. Franklin was not then in town; it was after ſome interval that he received the intelligence. What had paſſed he could not foreſee; he endeavoured to prevent what ſtill might follow. E.]

Mr. T.——They were not of the nature of *private* letters between friends *. They were written by public officers to perſons in public ſtations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public meaſures; they were therefore handed to other public perſons who might be influenced by them to produce thoſe meaſures. Their tendency was to incenſe the mother-country againſt her colonies, and, by the ſteps recommended, to widen the breach; which they effected.—The chief caution expreſſed with regard to privacy, was, to keep their contents from the colony agents; who the writers apprehended might return them, or copies of them to America. That apprehenſion was, it ſeems, well founded; for the firſt agent who laid his hands on them, thought it his duty to tranſmit them to his conſtituents †.

Craven Street,
Dec. 25, 1773.

B. FRANKLIN,

Agent for the Houſe of Repreſentatives of the Maſſachuſett's Bay.

* [Perhaps it is proper to call theſe letters only *ſecret* letters. The facts and advice they contained had the moſt direct relation to the *public*; and the only part of the letters that could ſtrictly be ſaid to be *private*, was the family hiſtory that was naturally here and there interſperſed on the ſame ſheet of paper, from family connection in the writers. E.]

† [It was in conſequence of this letter that Mr. Wedderburne ventured to make the moſt odious perſonal applications. Mr. Mauduit has prudently omitted part of them, in his account of the proceedings before the privy council. They are given here altogether however

ever (as well as they could be collected,) to mark the politics of the times, and the nature of the cenſures paſſed in England upon Dr. Franklin's character.

'The letters could not have come to Dr. Franklin,' ſaid Mr. Wedderburn, 'by fair means. The writers did not give them to 'him; nor yet did the deceaſed correſpondent, who from our in-'timacy would otherwiſe have told me of it: Nothing then will 'acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent 'or corrupt means, for the moſt malignant of purpoſes; unleſs he 'ſtole them, from the perſon who ſtole them. This argument is 'irrefragable.'——

'I hope, my lords, you will mark [and brand] the man, for the 'honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private cor-'reſpondence has hitherto been held ſacred, in times of the greateſt 'party rage, not only in politics but religion.'—'He has forfeited 'all the reſpect of ſocieties and of men. Into what companies will 'he hereafter go with an unembarraſſed face, or the honeſt intre-'pidity of virtue. Men will watch him with a jealous eye; they 'will hide their papers from him, and lock up their eſcrutoires. 'He will henceforth eſteem it a libel to be called *a man of letters*; '*homo* trium * *literarum!*

'But he not only took away the letters from one brother; but 'kept himſelf concealed till he nearly occaſioned the murder of the 'other. It is impoſſible to read his account, expreſſive of the 'cooleſt and moſt deliberate malice, without horror.' [*Here he read the letter above*; *Dr. Franklin being all the time preſent.*]—— 'Amidſt theſe tragical events, of one perſon nearly murdered, 'of another anſwerable for the iſſue, of a worthy governor hurt in 'his deareſt intereſts, the fate of America in ſuſpenſe; here is a 'man, who with the utmoſt inſenſibility of remorſe, ſtands up and 'avows himſelf the author of all. I can compare it only to Zanga 'in Dr. Young's *Revenge* †.

"Know then 'twas——I:
"I forged the letter, I diſpoſed the picture;
"I hated, I deſpiſed, and I deſtroy."

'I aſk, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed, by 'poetic fiction only, to the bloody African; is not ſurpaſſed by the 'coolneſs and apathy of the wily American?'

Theſe pleadings for a time worked great effect: The lords aſ-ſented, the town was convinced, Dr. Franklin was diſgraced ‡, and

* i. e. FUR (or *thief*). † Act Vth.
‡ He was diſmiſſed from his place in the poſt-office.

Mr. Wedderburn ſeemed in the road for every kind of advancement.—Unfortunately for Mr. Wedderburn, the events of the war did not correſpond with his ſyſtems. Unfortunately too for his "irrefragable argument," Dr. Franklin afterwards took an oath in chancery *, that at the time that he tranſmitted the letters, he was ignorant of the party to whom they had been addreſſed; having himſelf received them from a third perſon, and for the expreſs purpoſe of their being conveyed to America. Unfortunately alſo for Mr. Wedderburn's "worthy governor," that governor himſelf, *before* the arrival of Dr. Franklin's packet in Boſton, ſent over one of Dr. Franklin's own "private" letters to England; expreſſing ſome little coyneſs indeed upon the occaſion, but deſiring ſecrecy, leſt he ſhould be prevented procuring *more* uſeful intelligence from the ſame ſource ‡. Whether Mr. Wedderburn in his ſpeech intended to draw a particular caſe and portraiture, for the purpoſe only of injuring Dr. Franklin; or meant that his language and epithets ſhould apply generally to all, whether friends or foes, whoſe practice ſhould be found ſimiliar to it; is a matter that muſt be left to be adjuſted between governor Hutchinſon and Mr. Wedderburn.

But to return to Dr. Franklin. It was not ſingular perhaps that as a man of honour, he ſhould ſurrender his name to public ſcrutiny in order to prevent miſchief to others, and yet not betray his coadjutor (even to the preſent moment,) to relieve his own fame from the ſevereſt obloquy; but perhaps it belonged to few beſides Dr. Franklin, to poſſeſs mildneſs and magnanimity enough, to refrain from intemperate expreſſions and meaſures, againſt Mr. Wedderburn and his ſupporters, after all that had paſſed. E.]

* A copy of the proceedings in chancery has been in my poſſeſſion; but being at preſent miſlaid, I ſpeak only from memory here.

‡ See the *Remembrancer* for the year 1776, part 2d. p. 61. col. 1ſt. and 2d.

RULES

RULES *for reducing a* Great Empire *to a ſmall one; preſented to a* late *Miniſter, when he entered upon his Adminiſtration* *.

AN ancient ſage valued himſelf upon this, that though he could not fiddle, he knew how to make a great city of a little one. The ſcience that I, a modern Simpleton, am about to communicate, is the very reverſe.

I addreſs myſelf to all miniſters who have the management of extenſive dominions, which from their very greatneſs are become troubleſome to govern—becauſe the multiplicity of their affairs leaves no time for fiddling.

I. In the firſt place, gentlemen, you are to conſider, that a great empire, like a great cake, is moſt eaſily diminiſhed at the edges. Turn your attention therefore firſt to your *remoteſt* provinces; that, as you get rid of them, the next may follow in order.

II. That the poſſibility of this ſeparation may always exiſt, take ſpecial care the provinces are

* [Theſe rules firſt appeared in a London newſpaper about the beginning of the year 1774, and have ſeveral times ſince been introduced into our public prints.—The miniſter alluded to is ſuppoſed to be the Earl of H———h.

'The cauſes and motions of ſeditions (ſays Lord Bacon) are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and cuſtoms, breaking of privileges, general oppreſſion, advancement of unworthy perſons, ſtrangers, dearths, diſbanded ſoldiers, factions grown deſperate, and whatſoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cauſe.' E.]

never incorporated with the mother-country; that they do not enjoy the ſame common rights, the ſame privileges in commerce; and that they are governed by ſeverer laws, all of your enacting, without allowing them any ſhare in the choice of the legiſlators. By carefully making and preſerving ſuch diſtinctions, you will (to keep to my ſimile of the cake) act like a wiſe gingerbread-baker; who, to facilitate a diviſion, cuts his dough half through in thoſe places, where, when baked, he would have it broken to pieces.

III. Thoſe remote provinces have perhaps been acquired, purchaſed, or conquered, at the ſole expence of the ſettlers their anceſtors; without the aid of the mother-country. If this ſhould happen to increaſe her ſtrength, by their growing numbers, ready to join in her wars; her commerce, by their growing demand for her manufactures; or her naval power, by greater employment for her ſhips and ſeamen, They may probably ſuppoſe ſome merit in this, and that it entitles them to ſome favour; you are therefore to *forget it all, or reſent it* as if they had done you injury. —If they happen to be zealous whigs, friends of liberty, nurtured in revolution principles; remember all that to their prejudice, and contrive to puniſh it: for ſuch principles, after a revolution is thoroughly eſtabliſhed, are of no more uſe; they are even odious and abominable.

IV. However peaceably your colonies have ſubmitted to your government, ſhewn their affection to your intereſts, and patiently borne their

their grievances; you are to ſuppoſe them *always inclined to revolt*, and treat them accordingly. Quarter troops among them, who by their inſolence may provoke the riſing of mobs, and by their bullets and bayonets ſuppreſs them.—By this means, like the huſband who uſes his wife ill from ſuſpicion, you may in time convert your ſuſpicions into realities.

V. Remote provinces muſt have governors and judges, to repreſent the royal perſon, and execute every where the delegated parts of his office and authority. You miniſters know that much of the ſtrength of government depends on the opinion of the people; and much of that opinion on the *choice of rulers* placed immediately over them. If you ſend them wiſe and good men for governors, who ſtudy the intereſt of the coloniſts, and advance their proſperity; they will think their king wiſe and good, and that he wiſhes the welfare of his ſubjects. If you ſend them learned and upright men for judges, they will think him a lover of juſtice.—This may attach your provinces more to his government. You are therefore to be careful who you recommend for thoſe offices.—If you can find prodigals who have ruined their fortunes, broken gameſters or ſtock-jobbers; theſe may do well as Governors; for they will probably be rapacious, and provoke the people by their extortions. Wrangling proctors and pettyfogging lawyers too are not amiſs; for they will be for ever diſputing and quarrelling with their little parliaments.

ments. If withal they ſhould be ignorant, wrong-headed and inſolent, ſo much the better.—Attorneys clerks and Newgate ſolicitors will do for Chief-Juſtices, eſpecially if they hold their places during your pleaſure:—And all will contribute to impreſs thoſe ideas of your government that are proper for a people you would wiſh to renounce it.

VI. To confirm theſe impreſſions, and ſtrike them deeper, whenever the injured come to the capital with complaints of mal-adminiſtration, oppreſſion, or injuſtice; *puniſh ſuch ſuitors* with long delay, enormous expence, and a final judgment in favour of the oppreſſor. This will have an admirable effect every way. The trouble of future complaints will be prevented, and governors and judges will be encouraged to farther acts of oppreſſion and injuſtice; and thence the people may become more diſaffected, And at length deſperate.

VII. When ſuch governors have crammed their coffers, and made themſelves ſo odious to the people that they can no longer remain among them with ſafety to their perſons; *recal and reward* them with penſions. You may make them baronets too, if that reſpectable order ſhould not think fit to reſent it. All will contribute to encourage new governors in the ſame practice; and make the ſupreme government deteſtable.

VIII. If when you are engaged in war, your colonies ſhould vie in liberal aids of men and money againſt the common enemy, upon your ſimple requiſition,

requiſition, and give far beyond their abilities,—reflect that a penny taken from them by your power, is more honourable to you than a pound preſented by their benevolence; *deſpiſe therefore their voluntary grants*, and reſolve to haraſs them with *novel taxes*.—They will probably complain to your parliament that they are taxed by a body in which they have no repreſentative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redreſs. Let the parliament flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuſe even to ſuffer the reading of them, and treat the petitioners with the utmoſt contempt.—Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienation propoſed; for though many can forgive injuries, none ever forgave contempt.

IX. In laying theſe taxes, *never regard the heavy burthens* thoſe remote people already undergo; in defending their own frontiers, ſupporting their own provincial government, making new roads, building bridges, churches, and other public edifices; which in old countries have been done to your hands, by your anceſtors; but which occaſion conſtant calls and demands on the purſes of a new people.—Forget the reſtraint you lay on their trade for your own benefit, and the advantage a monopoly of this trade gives your exacting merchants. Think nothing of the wealth thoſe merchants and your manufacturers acquire by the colony commerce; their increaſed ability thereby to pay taxes at home; their accumulating in the price of their commodities, moſt of thoſe taxes,

and ſo levying them from their conſuming cuſtomers: all this, and the employment and ſupport of thouſands of your poor by the coloniſts, you are entirely to forget.—But remember to make your arbitrary tax more grievous to your provinces, by public declarations importing that your power of taxing them has *no limits*, ſo that when you take from them without their conſent a ſhilling in the pound, you have a clear right to the other nineteen. This will probably weaken every idea of ſecurity in their property, and convince them, that under ſuch a government they have nothing they can call their own; which can ſcarce fail of producing the happieſt conſequences!

X. Poſſibly indeed ſome of them might ſtill comfort themſelves, and ſay, 'Though we have 'no property, we have yet ſomething left that is 'valuable; we have conſtitutional *liberty both* '*of perſon and of conſcience*. This King, theſe 'Lords, and theſe Commons, who it ſeems are 'too remote from us to know us and feel for 'us, cannot take from us our habeas corpus right, 'or our right of trial by a jury of our neighbours: 'they cannot deprive us of the exerciſe of our 'religion, alter our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, and 'compel us to be papiſts, if they pleaſe, or Ma'hometans.'—To annihilate this comfort, begin by laws to perplex their commerce with infinite regulations, impoſſible to be remembered and obſerved: ordain ſeizures of their property for every failure; take away the trial of ſuch property by

jury, and give it to arbitrary judges of your own appointing, and of the loweſt characters in the country, whoſe ſalaries and emoluments are to ariſe out of the duties or condemnations, and whoſe appointments are during pleaſure.—Then let there be a formal declaration of both houſes, that oppoſition to your edicts is treaſon, and that perſons ſuſpected of treaſon in the provinces may, according to ſome obſolete law, be ſeized and ſent to the metropolis of the empire for trial; and paſs an act, that thoſe there charged with certain other offences, ſhall be ſent away in chains from their friends and country to be tried in the ſame manner for felony. Then erect a new court of inquiſition among them, accompanied by an armed force, with inſtructions to tranſport all ſuch ſuſpected perſons; to be ruined by the expence, if they bring over evidences to prove their innocence; or be found guilty and hanged if they cannot afford it.—And leſt the people ſhould think you cannot poſſibly go any farther, paſs another ſolemn declaratory act, 'that 'King, Lords, and Commons, had, have, and 'of right ought to have, full power and authori-'ty to make ſtatutes of ſufficient force and vali-'dity to bind the unrepreſented provinces *in all 'caſes whatſoever.*' This will include ſpiritual with temporal, and taken together, muſt operate wonderfully to your purpoſe; by convincing them, that they are at preſent under a power ſomething like that ſpoken of in the ſcriptures, which can not only kill their bodies, but damn

their

their ſouls to all eternity, by compelling them, if it pleaſes, to worſhip the devil.

XI. To make your taxes more odious, and more likely to procure reſiſtance; ſend from the capital a *board of officers* to ſuperintend the collection, *compoſed of the moſt indiſcreet*, ill-bred, and inſolent you can find. Let theſe have large ſalaries out of the extorted revenue, and live in open grating luxury upon the ſweat and blood of the induſtrious; whom they are to worry continually with groundleſs and expenſive proſecutions before the above-mentioned arbitrary revenue-judges; all at the coſt of the party proſecuted, though acquitted, becauſe the King is to pay no coſts.—Let theſe men by your order be exempted from all the common taxes and burthens of the province, though they and their property are protected by its laws.—If any revenue officers are ſuſpected of the leaſt tenderneſs for the people, diſcard them. If others are juſtly complained of, protect and reward them. If any of the under officers behave ſo as to provoke the people to drub them, promote thoſe to better offices: this will encourage others to procure for themſelves ſuch profitable drubbings, by multiplying and enlarging ſuch provocations, and all will work towards the end you aim at.

XII. Another way to make your tax odious, is to *miſapply the produce of it*. If it was originally appropriated for the defence of the provinces, and the better ſupport of government, and

and the adminiſtration of juſtice where it may be neceſſary; then apply none of it to that defence; but beſtow it where it is not neceſſary, in augmenting ſalaries or penſions to every governor who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his enmity to the people, and by calumniating them to their ſovereign. This will make them pay it more unwillingly, and be more apt to quarrel with thoſe that collect it and thoſe that impoſed it; who will quarrel again with them; and all ſhall contribute to your own purpoſe, of making them weary of your government.

XIII. If the people of any province have been accuſtomed to *ſupport their own governors and judges* to ſatisfaction, you are to apprehend that ſuch governors and judges may be thereby influenced to treat the people kindly, and to do them juſtice. This is another reaſon for applying part of that revenue in larger ſalaries to ſuch governors and judges, given, as their commiſſions are, during *your* pleaſure only; forbidding them to take any ſalaries from their provinces; And thus the people may no longer hope any kindneſs from their Governors, or (in crown caſes) any juſtice from their Judges.—And as the money thus miſapplied in one province is extorted from all, probably all will reſent the miſapplication.

XIV. If the parliaments of your provinces ſhould dare to claim rights, or complain of your adminiſtration; order them to be haraſſed with *repeated diſſolutions*.—If the ſame men are continually returned by new elections; adjourn their meetings

meetings to ſome country village, where they cannot be accommodated, and there keep them during pleaſure; for this, you know, is your prerogative; and an excellent one it is, as you may manage it to promote diſcontents among the people, diminiſh their reſpect, and increaſe their diſaffection.

XV. Convert the brave honeſt officers of your *navy*, into pimping tide-waiters and colony officers of the *cuſtoms*. Let thoſe who in time of war fought gallantly in defence of the commerce of their countrymen, in peace be taught to prey upon it. Let them learn to be corrupted by great and real ſmugglers; But (to ſhew their diligence) ſcour with armed boats every bay, harbour, river, creek, cove, or nook throughout the coaſt of your colonies; ſtop and detain every coaſter, every wood-boat, every fiſherman; tumble their cargoes and even their ballaſt inſide out, and upſide down; And if a pennyworth of pins is found un-entered, let the whole be ſeized and confiſcated. Thus ſhall the trade of your coloniſts ſuffer more from their friends in time of peace, than it did from their enemies in war.—Then let theſe boats' crews land upon every farm in their way, rob their orchards, ſteal their pigs and poultry, and inſult the inhabitants. If the injured and exaſperated farmers, unable to procure other juſtice, ſhould attack the aggreſſors, drub them, and burn their boats; you are to call this *high treaſon and rebellion*, order fleets and armies into their country, and threaten to carry all the offenders three thouſand

ſand miles to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. —O! this will work admirably!

XVI. If you are told of *diſcontents* in your colonies, never believe that they are general, or that you have given occaſion for them; therefore do not think of applying any remedy, or of changing any offenſive meaſure.—Redreſs no grievance, leſt they ſhould be encouraged to demand the redreſs of ſome other grievance. Grant no requeſt that is juſt and reaſonable, leſt they ſhould make another that is unreaſonable.—Take all your informations of the ſtate of the colonies from your governors and officers in enmity with them. Encourage and reward theſe leaſing-makers; ſecrete their lying accuſations, leſt they ſhould be confuted; but act upon them as the cleareſt evidence;—And believe nothing you hear from the friends of the people. Suppoſe all *their* complaints to be invented and promoted by a few factious demagogues, whom if you could catch and hang, all would be quiet.—Catch and hang a few of them accordingly; and the blood of the martyrs ſhall work miracles in favour of your purpoſe *.

* [One of the American writers affirms, 'That there has not 'been a ſingle inſtance in which *they* have complained, without 'being rebuked; or in which they have been complained *againſt*, 'without being puniſhed.'—A fundamental miſtake in the miniſter occaſioned this. Every individual in New England (the peccant country) was held a coward or a knave, and the diſorders which ſpread abroad there, were treated as the reſult of the *too great lenity* of Britain! By the aid of this ſhort and benevolent rule, judgment was ever wiſely predetermined; to the ſhutting out redreſs on the one hand, and inforcing every rigour of puniſhment on the other. E.]

XVII. If you ſee *rival nations* rejoicing at the proſpect of your diſunion with your provinces, and endeavouring to promote it; if they tranſlate, publiſh and applaud all the complaints of your diſcontented coloniſts, at the ſame time privately ſtimulating you to ſeverer meaſures; let not that alarm or offend you. Why ſhould it? ſince you all mean the ſame thing.

XVIII. If any colony ſhould *at their own charge erect a fortreſs* to ſecure their *port* againſt the fleets of a foreign enemy, get your governor to betray that fortreſs into your hands. Never think of paying what it coſt the country, for that would look, at leaſt, like ſome regard for juſtice; but turn it into a citadel, to awe the inhabitants and curb their commerce. If they ſhould have lodged in ſuch fortreſs the very arms they bought and uſed to aid you in your conqueſts, ſeize them all; it will provoke like ingratitude added to robbery.—One admirable effect of theſe operations will be, to diſcourage every other colony from erecting ſuch defences, and ſo their and your enemies may more eaſily invade them; to the great diſgrace of your government, and of courſe the furtherance of your project.

XIX. Send armies into their country under pretence of protecting the inhabitants; but, inſtead of garriſoning the forts on their frontiers with thoſe troops, to prevent incurſions, demoliſh thoſe forts; and order the troops into the heart of the country, that the ſavages may be encou-

encouraged to attack the frontiers *, and that the troops may be protected by the inhabitants: this will ſeem to proceed from your *ill-will or your ignorance*, and contribute farther to produce and ſtrengthen an opinion among them, that you are no longer fit to govern them †.

XX. Laſtly, inveſt the *general of your army in the provinces*, with great and unconſtitutional powers, and free him from the controul of even your own civil governors. Let him have troops now ‡ under his command, with all the fortreſſes in his poſſeſſion; and who knows but (like ſome provincial generals in the Roman empire, and encouraged by the univerſal diſcontent you have

* [I am not verſed in Indian affairs, but I find that in April 1773, the aſſembled chiefs of the weſtern nations told one of our Indian agents, 'that they remembered their father, the King of 'Great Britain's meſſage, delivered to them laſt fall; of demo-'liſhing Fort Pittſburg [on the Ohio] and removing the ſoldiers 'with their ſharp-edged weapons out of the country;—this gave 'them great pleaſure, as it was a ſtrong proof of his paternal 'kindneſs towards them.' (See *Conſiderations on the Agreement with Mr. T. Walpole for Lands upon the Ohio*, p. 9.) This is general hiſtory: I attempt no application of facts, perſonally invidious. E.]

† [As the reader may be inclined to divide his belief between the wiſdom of miniſtry, and the candor and veracity of Dr. Franklin, I ſhall inform him that two contrary objections may be made to the truth of this repreſentation. The firſt is, that the conduct of Great Britain is made *too* abſurd for poſſibility; and the ſecond, that it is not made abſurd *enough* for fact. If we conſider that this piece does not include the meaſures ſubſequent to 1773, the latter difficulty is eaſily ſet aſide. The former, I can only ſolve by the many inſtances in hiſtory, where the infatuation of individuals has brought the heavieſt calamities upon nations. E.]

‡ [i. e. In the ſituation and criſis into which things will *now* have been brought. E.]

produced) he may take it into his head to ſet up for himſelf? If he ſhould, and you have carefully practiſed theſe few excellent rules of mine, take my word for it, all the provinces will immediately join him;—and you will that day (if you have not done it ſooner) get rid of the trouble of governing them, and all the plagues attending their commerce and connection from thenceforth and for ever.

Intended

Intended Vindication and Offer *from Congreſs to Parliament, in* 1775 *.

FORASMUCH as the enemies of America in the parliament of Great Britain, to render us odious to the nation, and give an ill impreſſion of us in the minds of other European powers, have repreſented us as unjuſt and ungrateful in the higheſt degree;——Aſſerting on every occaſion, that the colonies were ſettled at the expence of Britain; — that they were at the expence of the ſame, protected in their infancy;—that they now ungratefully and unjuſtly refuſe to contribute to their own protection, and the common defence of the nation;—that they aim at independence; that they intend an abolition of the navigation acts;—and that they are fraudulent in their commercial dealings, and purpoſe to cheat their creditors in Britain, by avoiding the payment of their juſt debts:—

[And] as by frequent repetition theſe groundleſs aſſertions and malicious calumnies may, if not contradicted and refuted, obtain farther credit, and be injurious throughout Europe to the reputation and intereſt of the confederate colonies; it ſeems proper and neceſſary to examine them in our own juſt vindication.

* The following paper was drawn up in a committee of congreſs, June 25, 1775; but does not appear on their minutes; a ſevere act of parliament which arrived about that time having determined them not to give the ſum propoſed in it.—[It was firſt printed in the *Public Advertiſer* for July 18, 1777, No. 13,346. E.]

With regard to the firſt, *that the colonies were* ſettled *at the expence of Britain*, it is a known fact, that none of the twelve united colonies were ſettled, or even diſcovered, at the expence of England.—Henry the VIIth indeed granted a commiſſion to Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian, and his ſons; to ſail into the weſtern ſeas for the diſcovery of new countries; but it was to be "*ſuis* "eorum propriis ſumptibus et expenſis," at their *own* coſts and charges *. They diſcovered, but ſoon ſlighted and neglected, theſe northern territories; which were after more than a hundred years dereliction purchaſed of the natives, and ſettled at the charge and by the labour of private men and bodies of men, our anceſtors, who came over hither for that purpoſe.—But our adverſaries have never been able to produce any record, that ever the *parliament* or government of England was at the ſmalleſt expence on theſe accounts; on the contrary, there exiſts on the journals of parliament a ſolemn declaration in 1642, (only twenty-two years after the firſt ſettlement of the Maſſachuſetts, when, if ſuch expence had ever been incurred, ſome of the members muſt have known and remembered it,) "That theſe colonies "had been planted and eſtabliſhed *without any* "*expence to the ſtate* ‡."—*New-York* is the only colony

* See the Commiſſion in the Appendix to Pownall's Adminiſtration of the Colonies. Edit. 1775.

‡ "Veneris, 10 March, 1642. Whereas the plantations in New-"England have, by the bleſſing of the Almighty, had good and "proſperous ſucceſs, *without any public charge to this ſtate*; and are "now

colony in the founding of which England can pretend to have been at any expence; and that was only the charge of a ſmall armament to take it from the Dutch, who planted it. But to retain this colony at the peace, another at that time full as valuable, planted by private countrymen of *ours*, was given up by the crown to the Dutch in exchange, viz. Surinam, now a wealthy ſugar-colony in Guiana, and which but for that ceſſion might ſtill have remained in our poſſeſſion.—Of late, indeed, Britain has been at ſome expence in planting two colonies, *Georgia* † and *Nova Scotia*; but thoſe are not in our confederacy; and the expence ſhe has been at in their name, has chiefly been in grants of ſums unneceſſarily large, by way of ſalaries to officers ſent from England, and in jobs to friends, whereby dependants might be provided for; thoſe exceſſive grants not being requiſite to the welfare and good government of the colonies; Which good government (as experience in many inſtances of other colonies has taught us) may be much more frugally, and full as effectually, provided for and ſupported.

With regard to the ſecond aſſertion, *That theſe colonies were* protected *in their infant ſtate by England*; it is a notorious fact that in none of the many wars with the Indian natives, ſuſtained by

" now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the goſpel " in thoſe parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this king-" dom and nation: The commons now aſſembled in parliament, " &c. &c. &c." [See Governor Hutchinſon's Hiſtory. E.]

† Georgia has ſince acceded, July 1775.

our infant ſettlements for a century after our firſt arrival, were ever any troops or forces of any kind ſent from England to aſſiſt us; nor were any forts built at her expence to ſecure our ſea-ports from foreign invaders; nor any ſhips of war ſent to protect our trade till many years after our firſt ſettlement, when our commerce became an object of revenue, or of advantage to Britiſh merchants; and then it was thought neceſſary to have a frigate in ſome of our ports, during peace, to give weight to the authority of cuſtom-houſe officers, who were to reſtrain that commerce for the benefit of England. Our own arms, with our poverty, and the care of a kind providence, were all this time our only protection; while we were neglected by the Engliſh government; which either thought us not worth its care, or having no good will to ſome of us, on account of our different ſentiments in religion and politics, was indifferent what became of us.—On the other hand, the colonies have not been wanting to do what they could in every war for annoying the enemies of *Britain*. They formerly aſſiſted her in the conqueſt of Nova Scotia. In the war before laſt they took Louiſbourg, and put it into her hands. She made her peace with that ſtrong fortreſs, by reſtoring it to France, greatly to their detriment.—In the laſt war it is true Britain ſent a fleet and army, who acted with an equal army of ours, in the reduction of Canada; and perhaps thereby did more for us, than we in the preceding wars had done for her.—Let it be remembered, however, that

that ſhe rejected the plan we formed in the congreſs at Albany, in 1754, for our own defence, by an union of the colonies; an union ſhe was jealous of, and therefore choſe to ſend her own forces; otherwiſe her aid, to protect us, was not wanted. And from our firſt ſettlement to that time, her military operations in our favour were ſmall, compared with the advantages ſhe drew from her excluſive commerce with us.—We are however willing to give full weight to this obligation; and as we are daily growing ſtronger, and our aſſiſtance to her becomes of more importance, we ſhould with pleaſure embrace the firſt opportunity of ſhewing our gratitude by returning the favour in kind.—But when Britain values herſelf as affording us protection, we deſire it may be conſidered that we have followed *her* in all *her* wars, and joined with her at our own expence againſt all ſhe thought fit to quarrel with. This ſhe has required of us; and would never permit us to keep peace with any power ſhe declared her enemy; though by ſeparate treaties we might well have done it. Under ſuch circumſtances, when at her inſtance we made nations our enemies, whom we might otherwiſe have retained our friends; we ſubmit it to the common ſenſe of mankind, whether her protection of us in theſe wars was not our *juſt due*, and to be claimed of *right*, inſtead of being received as a *favour?* And whether, when all the parts of an empire exert themſelves to the utmoſt in their common defence, and in annoying the common enemy; it is not as well

well the *parts* that protect the *whole*, as the *whole* that protects the *parts*? The protection then has been proportionably mutual.—And whenever the time ſhall come, that our abilities may as far exceed hers, as hers have exceeded ours; we hope we ſhall be reaſonable enough to reſt ſatisfied with her proportionable exertions, and not think we do too much for a part of the empire, when that part does as much as it can for the whole.

The charge againſt us, *that we refuſe to* contribute *to our own protection*, appears from the above to be groundleſs: But we farther declare it to be abſolutely falſe; for it is well known that we ever held it as our duty to grant aids to the crown upon requiſition, towards carrying on its wars; which duty we have cheerfully complied with, to the utmoſt of our abilities; inſomuch that frequent and grateful acknowledgments thereof by king and parliament appear on their records *. But as Britain has enjoyed a moſt gainful monopoly of our commerce; the ſame, with our maintaining the dignity of the king's repreſentative in each colony, and all our own ſeparate eſtabliſhments of government, civil and military; has ever hitherto been deemed an equivalent for ſuch aids as might otherwiſe be expected from us in time of peace.—And we hereby declare, that on

* [Suppoſed to allude to certain paſſages in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons on the 4th of April, 1748; 28th January, 1756; 3d February, 1756; 16th and 19th of May, 1757; 1ſt of June, 1758; 26th and 30th of April, 1759; 26th and 31ſt of March and 28th of April, 1760; 9th and 20th January, 1761; 22d and 26th January, 1762; and 14th and 17th March, 1763.]

a recon-

a reconciliation with Britain, we ſhall *not only* continue *to grant aids in time of war*, as aforeſaid; but, whenever ſhe ſhall think fit to aboliſh her monopoly, and give us the ſame privileges of trade as Scotland received at the union, and allow us a free commerce with all the reſt of the world; we ſhall willingly agree (and we doubt not it will be ratified by our conſtituents) to *give and pay* into the ſinking fund [100,000l.] ſterling per annum for the term of one hundred years; which duly, faithfully, and inviolably applied to that purpoſe, is demonſtrably more than ſufficient to extinguiſh *all her preſent national* debt; ſince it will in that time amount, at legal Britiſh intereſt, to more than [230,000,000l.] ‡.

But if Britain does not think fit to accept this propoſition, we, in order to remove her groundleſs jealouſies, *that we aim at independence, and an abolition of the navigation act*, (which hath in truth never been our intention) and to avoid all future diſputes about the right of making that and other acts for regulating our commerce; Do hereby declare ourſelves ready and willing to enter into a *Covenant with Britain*, that ſhe ſhall fully poſſeſs, enjoy, and exerciſe that right, for an hundred years to come; the ſame being *bonâ fide* uſed for the common benefit; And in caſe of ſuch agreement, that every aſſembly be adviſed by us to confirm it ſolemnly by laws of their own, which once made cannot be repealed without the aſſent of the crown.

‡ [See Dr. Price's *Appeal on the national debt.* E.]

The

The laſt charge, *that we are diſhoneſt traders, and aim at defrauding our creditors in Britain*, is ſufficiently and authentically refuted by the ſolemn declarations of the Britiſh merchants to parliament, (both at the time of the ſtamp-act, and in the laſt ſeſſion) who bore ample teſtimony to the general good faith and fair dealing of the Americans, and declared their confidence in our integrity; for which we refer to their petitions on the Journals of the Houſe of Commons.—And we preſume we may ſafely call on the body of the Britiſh tradeſmen, who have had experience of both, to ſay, whether they have not received much more punctual payment from us than they generally have from the members of their own two houſes of parliament.

On the whole of the above it appears, that the charge of *ingratitude* towards the mother country, brought with ſo much confidence againſt the colonies, is totally without foundation; and that there is much more reaſon for retorting that charge on Britain, who not only never contributes any aid, nor affords, by an excluſive commerce, any advantages to Saxony, *her* mother country; but no longer ſince than in the laſt war, without the leaſt provocation, ſubſidized the King of Pruſſia while he ravaged that *mother country*, and carried fire and ſword into its capital, the fine city of *Dreſden*. An example we hope no provocation will induce us to imitate.

Letter

Letter from Dr. Franklin to a friend in England, *on the ſubject of the* firſt campaign *made by the Britiſh forces in America* *.

Philadelphia, 3d Octob. 1775.

Dear SIR,

I Am to ſet out to-morrow for the camp ‡, and having but juſt heard of this opportunity, can only write a line to ſay that I am well and hearty.—Tell our dear good friend * * *, who ſometimes has his doubts and deſpondencies about our firmneſs, that America is determined and unanimous; a very few tories and placemen excepted, who will probably ſoon export themſelves.

* [This letter has been ſeveral times very incorrectly printed: It is here given from a genuine copy. The parties to whom it is addreſſed, are of the very firſt order, both in point of literary merit and amiable manners. E.]

‡ [Dr. Franklin, Col. Harriſon and Mr. Lynch, were at this time appointed by Congreſs (of which they were members) to confer on certain ſubjects with Gen. Waſhington. The American army was then employed in blocking up Gen. Howe in Boſton; and I believe it was during this viſit, that Gen. Waſhington communicated the following memorable anecdote to Dr. Franklin; *viz.* 'that 'there had been a time, when this army had been ſo deſtitute of 'military ſtores, as not to have powder enough in all its magazines, 'to furniſh more than *five* rounds per man for their ſmall arms.' Great guns were out of the queſtion; they were fired now and then, only to ſhew that they had them. Yet this ſecret was kept with ſo much addreſs and good countenance from both armies, that Gen. Waſhington was enabled effectually to continue the blockade. E.]

—Britain,

—Britain, at the expence of three millions, has killed 150 Yankies this campaign, which is 20,000 l. a head; and at Bunker's Hill ſhe gained a mile of ground, half of which ſhe loſt again by our taking poſt on Ploughed Hill. During the ſame time 60,000 children have been born in America. From theſe *data* his mathematical head will eaſily calculate the time and expence neceſſary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory. —My ſincere reſpects to * * * * * *, and to the club of honeſt whigs at * * * * * * * * * *. Adieu. I am ever

Yours moſt affectionately,

B. F.

Letter

Letter from Lord Howe *to Dr. Franklin* *.

Eagle, June the 20th, 1776.

I Cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels, which I have ſent (in the ſtate I received them) to be landed, without adding a word upon the ſubject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy diſputes have engaged us.

You

* [In the year 1776 an act of parliament paſſed to prohibit and reſtrain on the one hand, the trade and intercourſe of the refractory colonies reſpectively during the revolt; and on the other hand, to enable perſons appointed by the crown to grant *pardons* and declare any particular diſtrict at the *king's peace, &c.* Lord Howe (who had been previouſly appointed commander of the fleet in North America) was on May 3d declared joint *commiſſioner* with his brother Gen. Howe for the latter purpoſes of the act. He ſailed May 12; and while off the Maſſachuſetts coaſt prepared a declaration announcing this commiſſion, and accompanied it with circular letters. July 4th, independence had been declared; but nevertheleſs congreſs (invited by various attempts made to procure a conference) reſolved to ſend Meſſieurs Franklin, J. Adams, and E. Rutledge to learn the propoſitions of the commiſſioners, by whom authorized, and to whom addreſſed. The commiſſioners having no power to treat with congreſs in its public capacity, and congreſs not being impowered by their repreſentatives to reſcind the act of independence; the conference was broken off ——It remains only to add, that on Sept. 19, the commiſſioners declared themſelves ready to confer with any of the well-affected, on the means of reſtoring peace and permanent union with every colony, as part of the Britiſh empire; and promiſed a *reviſion* of the ſeveral royal *inſtructions* ſuppoſed to lay improper reſtraints on colony-legiſlation, and alſo the king's *concurrence* in a reviſion of the objectionable acts of *parliament:* Which ſeemed the ultimatum of the commiſſion.—Parliament however, by a ſubſequent act, (which among other things formally renounced taxation in North America and the Weſt Indies) authorized five commiſſioners to

You will learn the nature of my miſſion, from the official diſpatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the ſame conveyance. Retaining all the earneſtneſs I ever expreſſed, to ſee our differences accommodated; I ſhall conceive, if I meet with the diſpoſition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the moſt flattering hopes of proving ſerviceable in the objects of the King's paternal ſolicitude; by promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the neceſſity of preventing her trade from paſſing into foreign channels, muſt keep us ſtill a divided people; I ſhall, from every private as well as public motive, moſt heartily lament, that this is not the moment wherein thoſe great objects of my ambition are to be attained;

to treat, ſettle and agree, even with congreſs; but ſubject to the farther confirmation of parliament. Lord Carliſle, and Meſſieurs Johnſon and Eden, with the commanders in chief of the land and ſea forces, were the commiſſioners appointed by the crown under this act; and Dr. Adam Ferguſon was made ſecretary to the commiſſion.

Mr. Henry Strachey had been ſecretary to the *firſt* commiſſion, attended with the following ſingular circumſtance, as ſtated in the houſe of lords. In this commiſſion for reſtoring peace to America, '(or *in other words* to induce America at once to put a confidence 'in the crown, and to believe that the parliament of England is a 'ſufficiently powerful and honeſt barrier for them to truſt to;) the 'ſecretary (Mr. Strachey) has 500 l. granted for life out of the '*four and a half* per cent. duty, filched by the crown from the '*Weſt India Iſlands*, and in oppoſition to a ſolemn addreſs of *parliament* deſiring that it might be applied to the original purpoſes for 'which it was granted by the reſpective aſſemblies of the iſlands.' —What theſe original purpoſes of the grants were, I meant (ſee p. 280) very briefly to have ſtated; but have not been able to procure the proper documents in time. E.]

and

and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you personally of the regard with which I am

Your sincere and faithful

humble servant,

HOWE.

P. S. I was disappointed of the opportunity I expected for sending this letter, at the time it was dated; and have ever since been prevented by calms and contrary winds, from getting here, to inform General Howe of the commission with which I have the satisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

Off of Sandy Hook, 12 of July.

Superscribed, HOWE.

To Benjamin Franklin, Esq; Philadelphia.

Dr. Franklin's Anſwer to Lord Howe.

Philadelphia, July 30, 1776.

My LORD,

I Received ſafe the letters your Lordſhip ſo kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

The official diſpatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had ſeen in the act of parliament, viz. "Offers of pardon "upon ſubmiſſion;" which I was ſorry to find; as it muſt give your Lordſhip pain to be ſent ſo far on ſo hopeleſs a buſineſs.

Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured; expreſſes indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baſeneſs, and inſenſibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleaſed to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of encreaſing our reſentments. —— It is impoſſible we ſhould think of ſubmiſſion to a government, that has with the moſt wanton barbarity and cruelty burnt our defenceleſs towns in the midſt of winter; excited the ſavages to maſſacre our (peaceful) farmers; and our ſlaves to murder their maſters; and is even now * bringing foreign mercenaries to

* [About this time the Heſſians, &c. had juſt arrived from Europe, at Staten Iſland and New York.]

deluge

deluge our ſettlements with blood. Theſe atrocious injuries have extinguiſhed every ſpark of affection for that parent country we once held ſo dear:—But were it poſſible for *us* to forget and forgive them, it is not poſſible for *you* (I mean the Britiſh nation) to forgive the people you have ſo heavily injured;—you can never confide again in thoſe as fellow ſubjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom you know you have given ſuch juſt cauſes of laſting enmity; and this muſt impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our ſpirit by the ſevereſt tyranny, and obſtructing by every means in your power our growing ſtrength and proſperity.

But your Lordſhip mentions "the King's paternal ſolicitude for promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the colonies." If by *peace* is here meant, a peace to be entered into by diſtinct ſtates, now at war; and his Majeſty has given your Lordſhip powers to treat with us of ſuch a peace; I may venture to ſay, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpoſe not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances. But I am perſuaded you have no ſuch powers.—Your nation, though by puniſhing thoſe American governors who have fomented the diſcord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing as far as poſſible the miſchiefs done us; ſhe might recover a great ſhare of our regard; and the greateſt ſhare of our growing commerce, with all the advan-

tages of that additional ſtrength, to be derived from a friendſhip with us; Yet I know too well her abounding pride and deficient wiſdom, to believe ſhe will ever take ſuch ſalutary meaſures. Her fondneſs for conqueſt as a warlike nation; her luſt of dominion as an ambitious one; and her thirſt for a gainful monopoly as a commercial one (none of them legitimate cauſes of war;) will join to hide from her eyes every view of her true intereſt; and continually goad her on in theſe ruinous diſtant expeditions, ſo deſtructive both of lives and of treaſure, that they muſt prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croiſades formerly were to moſt of the nations of Europe.

I have not the vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions; not be believed till the event ſhall verify it.

Long did I endeavour ‡ with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preſerve from breaking that fine and noble china vaſe——the Britiſh empire; for I knew that being once broken, the ſeparate parts could not retain even their *ſhare* of the ſtrength and value that exiſted in the whole; and that a perfect *re-union* of thoſe parts could ſcarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordſhip may poſſibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek, when, at your good ſiſter's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might ſoon

‡ [See the note at the cloſe of this letter. E.]

take

take place.——I had the misfortune to find theſe expectations diſappointed, and to be treated as the cauſe of the miſchief I was labouring to prevent. My conſolation under that groundleſs and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendſhip of many wiſe and good men in that country; and among the reſt, ſome ſhare in the regard of Lord Howe.

The well founded eſteem, and permit me to ſay affection, which I ſhall always have for your Lordſhip; make it painful to me to ſee you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, (as deſcribed in your letter;) is "the ne-"ceſſity of preventing the American *trade* from "paſſing into foreign channels." To me it ſeems that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable ſoever, is an object for which men may juſtly ſpill each others blood; that the true and ſure means of extending and ſecuring commerce, are the goodneſs and cheapneſs of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it, by fleets and armies. I conſider this war againſt us, therefore, as both unjuſt and unwiſe; and I am perſuaded, that cool and diſpaſſionate poſterity will condemn to infamy thoſe who adviſed it; and that even ſucceſs will not ſave from ſome degree of diſhonour, thoſe who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

I know your great motive in coming hither, was the hope of being inſtrumental in a reconciliation; and I believe, when you find that to be

impoſſible, on any terms given you to propoſe, you will then relinquiſh ſo odious a command, and return to a more honourable private ſtation.

With the greateſt and moſt ſincere reſpect, I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

B. Franklin *.

Directed to the Right Hon.
Lord Viſcount Howe.

* [It occurs to me to mention that Dr. Franklin was ſuppoſed to have been the inventor of a little *emblematical deſign* at the commencement of our diſputes; repreſenting the ſtate of *Great* Britain and her colonies, ſhould the former perſiſt in reſtraining the latter's trade, deſtroying their currency, and taxing their people by laws made by a legiſlature in which they were not repreſented.—Great Britain was ſuppoſed to have been placed upon the globe: But the colonies, her limbs, being ſevered from her, ſhe was ſeen lifting her eyes and mangled ſtumps to heaven; her ſhield, which ſhe was unable to wield, lay uſeleſs by her ſide; her lance had pierced New England; the laurel branch was fallen from the hand of Penſylvania; the Engliſh oak had loſt its head, and ſtood by a bare trunk with a few withered branches; briars and thorns were on the ground beneath it; our ſhips had brooms at their topmaſt-heads, denoting their being upon ſale; and Britannia herſelf was ſeen ſliding off the world, no longer able to hold its balance; her fragments overſpread with the label *date obolum Beliſario*.—This in ſhort, was the fable of the

the belly and the members reverſed. But I tell the ſtory chiefly for the ſake of the *moral*, which has the air of having been ſuggeſted by Dr. Franklin*; and is as follows.—'The political moral of 'this picture is now eaſily diſcovered. Hiſtory affords us many 'inſtances of the ruin of ſtates, by the proſecution of meaſures ill 'ſuited to the temper and genius of its people. The ordaining of 'laws in favor of *one* part of the nation, to the prejudice and op-'preſſion of *another*; is certainly the moſt erroneous and miſtaken 'policy. An *equal* diſpenſation of protection, rights, privileges 'and advantages, is what every part is intitled to, and ought to 'enjoy; it being a matter of no moment to the ſtate, whether a 'ſubject grows rich and flouriſhing on the Thames or the Ohio, in 'Edinburgh or Dublin. Theſe meaſures never fail to create great 'and violent jealouſies and animoſities, between the people favored 'and the people oppreſſed. From whence a total ſeparation of 'affections, intereſts, political obligations and all manner of con-'nections, neceſſarily enſues; by which the whole ſtate is weakened 'and perhaps ruined for ever.'

This language is part of the ſame ſyſtem with the following fragment of a ſentence, which Dr. Franklin inſerted in a political publication of one of his friends. 'The attempts to eſtabliſh *arbitrary* '*power* over ſo great a part of the Britiſh empire, [are] to the im-'minent hazard of our moſt valuable commerce, and of that na-'tional ſtrength, ſecurity and felicity, which depend on *union* and '*liberty*;'—The preſervation of which, I am told, he uſed to ſay, 'had been the great object and labor of his life; the whole being 'ſuch a thing *as the world never before ſaw*.' E.]

* This deſign was printed on a *card*, and Dr. Franklin at the time I believe occaſionally uſed to write his notes on ſuch cards. It was alſo printed on a *half ſheet of paper*, with an explanation by ſome other perſon, and the moral given above. The drawing was but moderately executed.

Comparison of Great Britain and America as to Credit, *in* 1777 *.

IN borrowing money, a man's credit depends on some or all of the following particulars.

First, His known conduct respecting former loans, and his punctuality in discharging them.

Secondly, His industry.

Thirdly, His frugality.

Fourthly, The amount and the certainty of his income, and the freedom of his estate from the incumbrances of prior debts.

Fifthly, His well founded prospects of greater future ability, by the improvement of his estate in value, and by aids from others.

Sixthly, His known prudence in managing his general affairs, and the advantage they will probably receive from the loan which he desires.

Seventhly, His known probity and honest character, manifested by his voluntary discharge of his debts, which he could not have been legally compelled to pay.—The circumstances which give credit to an *individual* ought to, and will have, their weight upon the lenders of money to *public bodies* or nations.—If then we consider and

* [This paper was written, translated, printed, and circulated, while Dr. Franklin was at the court of Paris, for the purpose of inducing foreigners to lend money to America in preference to Great Britain. E.]

compare

compare Britain and America, in theſe ſeveral particulars, upon the queſtion, "To which is it ſafeſt "to lend money?" We ſhall find,

1. Reſpecting *former loans*; that *America*, which borrowed ten millions during the laſt war for the maintenance of her army of 25,000 men, and other charges; had faithfully diſcharged and paid that debt, and all her other debts, in 1772. —Whereas *Britain*, during thoſe ten years of peace and profitable commerce, had made little or no reduction of her debt; but on the contrary, from time to time, diminiſhed the hopes of her creditors, by a wanton diverſion and miſapplication of the ſinking fund deſtined for diſcharging it.

2. Reſpecting *induſtry*; Every man [in *America*] is employed; the greater part in cultivating their own lands; the reſt in handicrafts, navigation, and commerce. An idle man is a rarity; idleneſs and inutility are diſgraceful.—In *England*, the number of that character is immenſe; faſhion has ſpread it far and wide; Hence the embarraſſments of private fortunes, and the daily bankruptcies ariſing from an univerſal fondneſs for appearance and expenſive pleaſures; And hence, in ſome degree, the miſmanagements of public buſineſs; for habits of buſineſs and ability in it, are acquired only by practice; and where univerſal diſſipation, and the perpetual purſuit of amuſement are the mode; the youth, educated in it, can rarely afterwards acquire that patient attention and cloſe application to affairs, which are ſo neceſſary to a ſtateſman charged with the care of national welfare.

welfare. *Hence* their frequent errors in policy; and hence the wearineſs at public councils, and backwardneſs in going to them; the conſtant unwillingneſs to engage in any meaſure that requires thought and conſideration; and the readineſs for poſtponing every new propoſition; Which poſtponing is therefore the only part of buſineſs that they come to be expert in, an expertneſs produced neceſſarily by ſo much daily practice. Whereas in *America*, men bred to cloſe employment in their private affairs, attend with eaſe to thoſe of the public, when engaged in them, and nothing fails through negligence.

3. Reſpecting *frugality*; the manner of living in *America* is more ſimple and leſs expenſive than that in England: plain tables, plain clothing, and plain furniture in houſes prevail, with few carriages of pleaſure; there, an expenſive appearance hurts credit, and is avoided: in *England*, it is often aſſumed to gain credit, and continued to ruin.—Reſpecting *public* affairs, the difference is ſtill greater. In *England*, the ſalaries of officers, and emoluments of office, are enormous. The king has a million ſterling per annum, and yet cannot maintain his family free of debt: Secretaries of State, Lords of Treaſury, Admiralty, &c. have vaſt appointments: An Auditor of the Exchequer has ſixpence in the pound, or a fortieth part of all the public money expended by the nation; ſo that, when a war coſts forty millions, one million is paid to him: An Inſpector of the Mint, in the laſt new coinage, received as his fee 65,000l. ſterling

ſterling per annum: To all which rewards, no ſervice theſe Gentlemen can render the public is by any means equivalent. All this is paid by the people; who are oppreſſed by taxes ſo occaſioned; and thereby rendered leſs able to contribute to the payment of neceſſary, national debts. In *America*, ſalaries, where indiſpenſible, are extremely low; But much of the public buſineſs is done gratis. The honour of ſerving the public ably and faithfully, is deemed ſufficient. *Public ſpirit* really exiſts there, and has great effects. In England, it is univerſally deemed a non-entity, and whoever pretends to it, is laughed at as a fool, or ſuſpected as a knave. The committees of congreſs, which form the board of war, the board of treaſury, the board of foreign affairs, the naval board, that for accounts, &c. all attend the buſineſs of their reſpective functions, without any ſalary or emolument whatever; though they ſpend in it much more of their time than any Lord of Treaſury or Admiralty in England can ſpare, from his amuſements. —A Britiſh miniſter lately computed, that the whole expence of the Americans, in their *civil* government, over three millions of people, amounted to but 70,000 l. ſterling; and drew from thence a concluſion, that they ought to be taxed, until their expence was equal in proportion to that which it coſts Britain to govern eight millions. He had no idea of a contrary concluſion; that if three millions may be well governed for 70,000 l. eight millions may be as well governed for three times that ſum; and that therefore the expence of his own

own government ſhould be diminiſhed.—In that corrupted nation, no man is aſhamed of being concerned in lucrative *Government jobs*, in which the public money is egregiouſly miſapplied and ſquandered, the treaſury pillaged, and more numerous and heavy taxes accumulated; to the great oppreſſion of the people. But the proſpect of a greater number of ſuch jobs by a war is an inducement with many to cry out for war upon all occaſions, and to oppoſe every propoſition of peace. Hence the conſtant increaſe of the national debt, and the abſolute improbability of its ever being diſcharged.

4. Reſpecting the *amount and certainty of income, and ſolidity of ſecurity*; the *whole* Thirteen States of *America* are engaged for the payment of every debt contracted by the congreſs; and the debt to be contracted by the preſent war, is the *only* debt they will have to pay; all, or nearly all the former debts of particular colonies being already diſcharged. Whereas *England* will have to pay, not only the enormous debt this war muſt occaſion, but all their vaſt preceding debt, or the intereſt of it;—and while *America* is enriching itſelf by prizes made upon the Britiſh commerce, more than it ever did by any commerce of its own, under the reſtraints of a Britiſh monopoly; *Britain* is growing poorer by the loſs of that monopoly, and the diminution of its revenues; and of courſe leſs able to diſcharge the preſent indiſcreet increaſe of its expences.

5. Re-

5. Reſpecting proſpects of greater future ability, *Britain* has none ſuch. Her iſlands are circumſcribed by the ocean; and excepting a few parks or foreſts, ſhe has no new land to cultivate, and cannot therefore extend her improvements. Her numbers too, inſtead of increaſing from increaſed ſubſiſtence; are continually diminiſhing from growing luxury, and the increaſing difficulties of maintaining families, which of courſe diſcourages early marriages. Thus ſhe will have fewer people to aſſiſt in paying her debts, and that diminiſhed number will be poorer.—*America*, on the contrary, has beſides her lands already cultivated, a vaſt territory yet to be cultivated; which being cultivated, continually increaſe in value with the increaſe of people; And the people, who double themſelves by a *natural propagation* every twenty five years, will double yet faſter, by the acceſſion of *ſtrangers*, as long as lands are to be had for new families; So that every twenty years, there will be a double number of inhabitants obliged to diſcharge the public debts; and thoſe inhabitants being more opulent, may pay their ſhares with greater eaſe.

6. Reſpecting *prudence* in general affairs, and the advantages to be expected from the loan deſired; the *Americans* are cultivators of land; thoſe engaged in fiſhery and commerce are few, compared with the others. They have ever conducted their ſeveral governments with wiſdom, avoiding wars, and vain expenſive projects; delighting only in their peaceable occupations, which muſt, conſidering

ſidering the extent of their uncultivated territory, find them employment ſtill for ages. Whereas *England*, ever unquiet, ambitious, avaricious, imprudent, and quarrelſome, is half of the time engaged in war; always at an expence infinitely greater than the advantage to be obtained by it, if ſucceſsful. Thus they made war againſt Spain in 1739, for a claim of about 95,000l. (ſcarce a groat for each individual of the nation) and ſpent forty millions ſterling in the war, and the lives of fifty thouſand men; and finally made peace without obtaining ſatisfaction for the ſum claimed. Indeed, there is ſcarce a nation in Europe, againſt which ſhe has not made war on ſome frivolous pretext or other; and thereby imprudently accumulated a debt that has brought her on the verge of bankruptcy.—But the moſt indiſcreet of all her wars, is the preſent againſt America; with which ſhe might, for ages, have preſerved her profitable connection, only by a juſt and equitable conduct. She is now acting like a mad ſhopkeeper, who, by beating thoſe that paſs his doors, attempts to make them come in, and be his cuſtomers. America cannot ſubmit to ſuch treatment, without being firſt ruined; and being ruined, her cuſtom will be worth nothing. *England*, to effect this, is increaſing her debt, and irretrievably ruining herſelf.—*America*, on the other hand, aims only to eſtabliſh her liberty, and that freedom of commerce which will be advantageous to all Europe; And by aboliſhing that monopoly which ſhe laboured under, ſhe will profit infinitely more than enough,

enough, to repay any debt which ſhe may contract to accompliſh it.

7. Reſpecting *character in the honeſt payment of debts*; The punctuality with which *America* has diſcharged her public debts, was ſhewn under the firſt head.—And the general good diſpoſition of the people to ſuch punctuality, has been manifeſted in their faithful payment of *private* debts to England, ſince the commencement of this war. —There were not wanting ſome politicians [in America,] who propoſed *ſtopping that payment*, until peace ſhould be reſtored; alleging that in the uſual courſe of commerce, and of the credit given, there was always a debt exiſting equal to the trade of eighteen months: That the trade amounting to five millions ſterling per annum, the debt muſt be ſeven millions and an half; that this ſum paid to the Britiſh merchants, would operate to prevent that diſtreſs, intended to be brought upon Britain, by our ſtoppage of commerce with her: For the merchants receiving this money, and no orders with it for farther ſupplies, would either lay it out in the public funds; or in employing manufacturers, to accumulate goods, for a future hungry market in America, upon an expected accommodation; by which means the funds would be kept up, and the manufacturers prevented from murmuring. But *againſt this it was alleged*, that injuries from miniſters ſhould not be revenged on merchants; that the credit was in conſequence of private contracts, made in confidence of good faith; that theſe ought

to

to be held ſacred, and faithfully complied with; For that whatever public utility might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from a breach of private faith, it was unjuſt; and would in the end be found unwiſe; honeſty, being in truth, the beſt policy. On this principle, the propoſition was univerſally rejected; and though the Engliſh proſecuted the war, with unexampled barbarity, burning our defenceleſs towns in the midſt of winter, and arming ſavages againſt us; the debt was punctually paid; And the merchants of London have teſtified to the parliament, and will teſtify to all the world, that from their experience in dealing with us, they had, before the war, no apprehenſion of our unfairneſs; and that ſince the war, they have been convinced, that their good opinion of us was well founded. —*England*, on the contrary, an old, corrupt, extravagant, and profligate nation, ſees herſelf deep in debt, which ſhe is in no condition to pay; and yet is madly, and diſhoneſtly, running deeper, without any poſſibility of diſcharging her debt, but by a public bankruptcy.

It appears, therefore, from the general induſtry, frugality, ability, prudence, and virtue of America, that ſhe is a much ſafer debtor than Britain; — To ſay nothing of the ſatisfaction generous minds muſt have in reflecting, that by loans to America, they are oppoſing tyranny, and aiding the cauſe of liberty, which is the cauſe of all mankind.

IV. PAPERS

IV.

PAPERS

ON

SUBJECTS

OF

PROVINCIAL POLITICS.

N. B. *All the Papers under this diviſion are diſtinguiſhed by the letters* [P. P.] *placed in the running title at the head of each leaf.*

IV.

PAPERS

ON

SUBJECTS

OF

PROVINCIAL POLITICS.

Report of the Committee of Aggrievances *of the Aſſembly of* Penſylvania, *dated Feb.* 22, 1757 *.

IN obedience to the order of the houſe, we have drawn up the heads of the moſt important aggrievances that occur to us, which the people of this province with great difficulty labour under; the many infractions of the conſtitution, (in manifeſt violation of the royal grant, the proprietary charter, the laws of this province, and of the laws, uſages, and cuſtoms of our mother country;) and other matters; which we apprehend call aloud for redreſs.

They are as follow:

* [The Engliſh colony-governments ſeem to have been conſidered as of three ſorts. Firſt, *Provincial* governments; where the conſtitution originally depends on the King's commiſſion and inſtructions, given to his governors; and the aſſemblies held under that authority, have their ſhare in making local ordinances not repugnant to Engliſh law. Next, *Proprietary* governments; where a diſtrict of country is given by the crown to individuals, attended with certain legiſlative powers in the nature of a fief; with a proviſion for the ſovereignty at home, and alſo for the fulfilment of the terms and end of the grant. Laſtly, *Charter* governments, where the form of government is previouſly preſcribed and made known to the ſettlers, being in no degree left ſubject to a governor's commiſſion or proprietor's will. (See Blackſtone, Vol. I. Introd. § 4.) —Good faith however to mankind ſeemed to require, that the conſtitutions once begun under the provincial or proprietary governments, ſhould remain unaltered (except for improvement,) to the reſpective ſettlers; equally as in charter governments.

By the laſt paragraph of the above report, it ſeems that the aſſembly eſtabliſhed in Penſylvania intended to ſend *Commiſſioners to England*, to ſolicit redreſs of various grievances, particularly reſpecting *their proprietor*'s conduct; and that the buſineſs being referred to a committee of the aſſembly, the following report was meant to convey the opinion of that committee concerning the inſtructions neceſſary to be given by the aſſembly to the commiſſioners. E.]

Firſt, By the royal charter, (which has ever been, ought to be, and truly is, the principal and invariable fundamental of this conſtitution) King Charles the Second did give and grant unto William Penn, his heirs and aſſigns, the province of Penſylvania; and alſo to him and his heirs, and his or their *deputies* or lieutenants, free, full, and abſolute power for the good and happy government thereof, to make and enact any laws, "according to their beſt diſcretion; by and with "the advice, aſſent, and approbation of the *free-* "*men* of the ſaid country, or of their delegates "or deputies;" for the raiſing of money, or any other end appertaining to the public ſtate, peace or ſafety of the ſaid country.—By the words of this grant, it is evident that full powers are granted to the *deputies* and lieutenants of William Penn and his heirs, to concur with the people in framing laws for their protection and the ſafety of the province, according to their beſt diſcretion; independent of any inſtructions or directions they ſhould receive from their *principals*. And it is equally obvious to your committee, that the *people* of this province and their repreſentatives were intereſted in this royal grant; and by virtue thereof have an original right of legiſlation inherent in them; which neither the proprietors nor any other perſon whatſoever can diveſt them of, reſtrain, or abridge; without manifeſtly violating and deſtroying the letter, ſpirit, and deſign of this grant.

Nevertheleſs we unfortunately find, that the proprietaries of this province, regardleſs of this

ſacred

ſacred fundamental of all our rights and liberties; have ſo abridged and reſtricted their late and preſent *governor's* diſcretion in matters of legiſlation, by their illegal, impracticable, and unconſtitutional inſtructions and prohibitions; that no bill for granting aids and ſupplies to our moſt gracious ſovereign, (be it ever ſo reaſonable, expedient, and neceſſary for the defence of this his Majeſty's colony, and ſafety of his people,) unleſs it be agreeable thereto, can meet with his approbation: by means whereof the many conſiderable ſums of money which have been offered for thoſe purpoſes, by the aſſemblies of this province (ever anxious to maintain his honour and rights,) have been rejected; to the great encouragement of his Majeſty's enemies, and the imminent danger of the loſs of this his colony.

Secondly, The repreſentatives of the people in general aſſembly met, by virtue of the ſaid royal grant, and the charter of privileges granted by the ſaid William Penn, and a law of this province; have right to, and ought to enjoy all the powers and privileges of an aſſembly; according to the rights of the free-born ſubjects of England, and as is uſual in any of the plantations in America: [Alſo] it is an indubitable and now an inconteſted right of the commons of England to *grant aids* and ſupplies to his Majeſty in any manner they think moſt eaſy to themſelves and the people; and they [alſo] are the ſole judges of the *meaſure, manner and time* of granting and raiſing the ſame.

Nevertheleſs the proprietaries of this province, in contempt of the ſaid royal grant, proprietary charter, and law of their colony; deſigning to ſubvert the fundamentals of this conſtitution, to deprive the aſſembly and people of their rights and privileges, and to aſſume an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the liberties and properties of his Majeſty's liege ſubjects; have ſo reſtrained their governors by the *deſpotic inſtructions*, (which are not to be varied from, and are particularly directory in the framing and paſſing of money bills and ſupplies to his Majeſty, as to the mode, meaſure, and time;) that it is impoſſible for the aſſembly, ſhould they loſe all ſenſe of their moſt eſſential rights, and comply with thoſe inſtructions, to grant ſufficient aids for the defence of this his Majeſty's province from the common enemy.

Thirdly, In purſuance of ſundry acts of general aſſembly, approved of by the crown, [and] a natural right inherent in every man antecedent to all laws; the aſſemblies of this province have had the power of *diſpoſing* of the *public* monies, that have been raiſed for the encouragement of trade and ſupport of government, by the intereſt-money ariſing by the loan of the bills of credit and the exciſe. No part of theſe monies was ever paid by the *proprietaries*, or ever raiſed on their eſtates; and therefore they can have no pretence of right to a voice in the diſpoſition of them. They have ever been applied with prudent frugality to the honour and advantage of the public, and the King's immediate ſervice, to the general approbation of the people: the

the credit of the government has been preſerved, and the debts of the public punctually diſcharged. In ſhort, no inconveniencies, but great and many advantages have accrued, from the aſſembly's prudent care and management of theſe funds.

Yet the proprietaries reſolved to deprive the aſſemblies of the power and means of *ſupporting an agent* in England; and of proſecuting their complaints and remonſtrating their aggrievances, when injured and oppreſſed, to his Majeſty and his parliament: And to rob them of this natural right, (which has been ſo often approved of by their gracious ſovereign) have, by their ſaid inſtructions, prohibited their governor from giving his aſſent to any laws emitting or re-emitting any paper-currency or bills of credit, or for raiſing money by exciſe or any other method; unleſs the governor or commander in chief for the time being, by clauſes to be inſerted therein, have a *negative in the diſpoſition* of the monies ariſing thereby; let the languiſhing circumſtances of our trade be ever ſo great, and a further or greater medium be ever ſo neceſſary for its ſupport.

Fourthly, By the laws and ſtatutes of England, the chief rents, honours, and caſtles of the *crown* are taxed, and *pay their proportion,* to the ſupplies that are granted to the King for the defence of the realm and ſupport of government: His Majeſty, the nobility of the realm, and all the Britiſh ſubjects, do now actually contribute their proportion towards the defence of America in general, and this province in particular: And it is in a more

eſpecial manner the duty of the *proprietaries* to pay their proportion of a tax for the immediate preſervation of their own eſtates, in this province. To exempt therefore any part of their eſtates from their reaſonable part of this neceſſary burthen, is as unjuſt as it is illegal, and as new as it is arbitrary.

Yet the proprietaries, notwithſtanding the general danger to which the nation and its colonies are expoſed, and great diſtreſs of this province in particular; by their ſaid inſtructions, have prohibited their governors from paſſing laws for the raiſing ſupplies for its defence; *unleſs* all their located, unimproved, and unoccupied lands, quit-rents, fines and purchaſe monies on intereſt, (the much greater part of their enormous eſtates in this colony) are expreſsly exempted from paying any part of the tax.

Fifthly, By virtue of the ſaid royal charter, the proprietaries are inveſted with a power of doing every thing "which unto a compleat eſtabliſh-"ment of juſtice, unto courts and tribunals, "forms of judicature, and manner of proceedings, "do belong." It was certainly the import and deſign of this grant, that the courts of judicature ſhould be formed, and the *judges* and officers thereof, hold their commiſſions, in a manner not repugnant, but agreeable to the laws and cuſtoms of England; that thereby they might remain free from the influence of perſons in power; the rights of the people might be preſerved, and their properties

perties effectually ſecured. That the grantee, William Penn (underſtanding the ſaid grant in this light) did, by his original frame of government, covenant and grant with the people, that the judges and other officers ſhould hold their commiſſions during their *good behaviour, and no longer.*

Notwithſtanding which, the governors of this province have for many years paſt, granted all the commiſſions to the judges of the King's Bench or ſupreme court of this province, and to the judges of the court of Common Pleas of the ſeveral counties; to be held during their *will and pleaſure:* By means whereof, the ſaid judges being ſubject to the influence and directions of the proprietaries and their governors, their favourites and creatures, the laws may not be duly adminiſtered or executed, but often wreſted from their true ſenſe to ſerve particular purpoſes: the foundation of juſtice may be liable to be deſtroyed; and the lives, laws, liberties, privileges and properties of the people thereby rendered precarious and altogether inſecure; to the great diſgrace of our laws, and the inconceivable injury of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

Your committee further beg leave to add, that beſides theſe aggrievances, there are other hardſhips the people of this province have experienced, that call for redreſs.—The *inliſtment of ſervants without the leaſt ſatisfaction* being made to the maſters, has not only prevented the cultivation of our lands, and diminiſhed the trade and commerce of the province; but is a burthen extremely unequal and oppreſſive

oppreſſive to individuals. And ſhould the practice continue, the conſequence muſt prove very diſcouraging to the further ſettlement of this colony, and prejudicial to his Majeſty's future ſervice.—Juſtice, therefore, demands that ſatisfaction ſhould be made to the maſters of ſuch inliſted ſervants; and that the right of maſters to their ſervants be confirmed and ſettled.—But as thoſe ſervants have been inliſted into his Majeſty's ſervice for the general defence of America, and not of this province only; but all the colonies, and the nation in general, have and will receive equal benefit from their ſervice; this ſatisfaction ſhould be made at the expence of the nation, and not of the province only.

That the people now labour under *a burthen of taxes* almoſt inſupportable by ſo young a colony, for the defence of its long-extended frontier, of about two hundred miles from New Jerſey to Maryland; without either of thoſe colonies, or the three lower counties on Delaware contributing their proportion thereto; though their frontiers are in a great meaſure covered and protected by our forts. And ſhould the war continue, and with it this unequal burthen, many of his Majeſty's ſubjects in this province will be reduced to want; and the province, if not loſt to the enemy, involved in debt, and ſunk under its load.

That notwithſtanding this weight of taxes, the aſſemblies of this province *have given to the general ſervice* of the nation, five thouſand pounds to purchaſe proviſions for the troops under General Braddock; 2,985l. 0s. 11d. for clearing a road by

by his orders; 10,514l. 10s. 1d. to General Shirley, for the purchaſing proviſions for the New England forces; and expended the ſum of 2385l. 0s. 2½d. in ſupporting the inhabitants of Nova Scotia;—Which likewiſe we conceive ought to be a national expence.

And that his Majeſty's ſubjects, the merchants and inſurers in England, as well as the merchants here and elſewhere; did during the laſt, and will during the preſent war, greatly [ſuffer], in their property, trade, and commerce, by the *enemy's privateers* on this coaſt, and at our capes; unleſs ſome method be fallen on to prevent it.

Wherefore your committee are of opinion, That the commiſſioners intended to be ſent to England, to ſolicit a memorial and redreſs of the many infractions and violations of the conſtitution;—ſhould alſo have it in charge, and be inſtructed to repreſent to our moſt gracious Sovereign and his parliaments, the ſeveral unequal burthens and hardſhips before-mentioned;—and endeavour to procure ſatisfaction to the maſters of ſuch ſervants as have been inliſted, and the right of maſters to their ſervants eſtabliſhed and confirmed;—and obtain a repayment of the ſaid ſeveral ſums of money; ſome aſſiſtance towards defending our extenſive frontier; and a veſſel of war to protect the trade and commerce of this province.

Submitted to the correction of the houſe.

Feb. 22, 1757.

To

To the Freemen of Penſylvania, on the ſubject of a particular Militia Bill, *rejected by the Proprietor's deputy or governor.*

Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1764.

Gentlemen,

YOUR deſire of knowing how the militia bill came to fail in the laſt Aſſembly, ſhall immediately be complied with.

As the Governor preſſed hard for a militia law, to ſecure the internal peace of the province, and the people of this country had not been accuſtomed to militia ſervice; the houſe, to make it more generally agreeable to the freeholders, formed the bill ſo as that they might have ſome ſhare in the election of the officers; to ſecure them from having abſolute ſtrangers ſet over them, or perſons generally diſagreeable.

This was no more, than that every company ſhould chooſe, and recommend to the Governor, three perſons for each office of Captain, Lieutenant, and Enſign; *out of which three*, the Governor was to commiſſion *one* that he thought moſt proper, or which he pleaſed, to be the officer.—And that the Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns, ſo commiſſioned by the Governor; ſhould, in their reſpective regiments, chooſe and recommend three perſons for each office of Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major; out of which three

three the Governor was to commiſſion *one*, whichever he pleaſed, to each of the ſaid offices.

The *Governor's amendment* to the bill in this particular, was, to ſtrike out wholly this privilege of the people; and take to himſelf the *ſole* appointment of all the officers.

The next amendment was to aggravate and *enhance all the fines*. A fine that the Aſſembly had made One hundred pounds, and thought heavy enough; the Governor required to be Three hundred pounds. What they had made Fifty pounds, he required to be One hundred and fifty. —Theſe were fines on the commiſſioned officers for diſobedience to his commands; but the non commiſſioned officers, or common ſoldiers, who, for the ſame offence the Aſſembly propoſed to fine at Ten pounds, the Governor inſiſted ſhould be fined Fifty pounds.

Theſe fines, and ſome others to be mentioned hereafter, the Aſſembly thought ruinouſly high: —But when, in a ſubſequent amendment, the Governor would, for offences among the militia, take away the *trial by jury* in the common courts; and required, that the trial ſhould be by a court-martial, compoſed of officers of his own ſole appointing, who ſhould have power of ſentencing even to Death;—the Houſe could by no means conſent thus to give up their conſtituents liberty, eſtate, and life itſelf, into the abſolute power of a proprietary Governor;—and ſo the bill failed.

That you may be aſſured I do not miſrepreſent this matter, I ſhall give you the laſt mentioned

amendment (ſo called) at full length; and for the truth and exactneſs of my copy I dare appeal to Mr. Secretary Shippen.

The words of the bill, p. 43. were, " Every " ſuch perſon ſo offending, being legally convicted " thereof," &c. By the words *legally convicted*, was intended a conviction after legal trial, in the common courſe of the laws of the land. But the Governor required this addition immediately to follow the words ["convicted thereof"] viz. ' by ' a *court-martial*; ſhall ſuffer DEATH, or ſuch ' other puniſhment as ſuch court, by their ſen- ' tence or decree, ſhall think proper to inflict ' and pronounce. And be it farther enacted by ' the authority aforeſaid, That when and ſo often ' as it may be neceſſary, the *Governor* and Com- ' mander in chief for the time being, ſhall ap- ' point and commiſſionate, under the great ſeal ' of this province, ſixteen commiſſioned officers ' in each regiment; with authority and power to ' them or any thirteen of them to hold courts- ' martial, of whom a field officer ſhall always ' be one, and preſident of the ſaid court; and ' ſuch courts-martial ſhall and are hereby im- ' powered to adminiſter an oath to any witneſs, ' in order to the examination or trial of any of ' the offences which by this act are made cog- ' nizable in ſuch courts, and ſhall come before ' them. Provided always, that in all trials by ' a court-martial by virtue of this act, every offi- ' cer preſent at ſuch trial, before any proceedings ' be had therein, ſhall take an *oath* upon the ' holy

'holy evangeliſts, before one Juſtice of the peace 'in the county where ſuch court is held; who 'are hereby authorized to adminiſter the ſame, 'in the following words, that is to ſay; "I A. B. "do ſwear, that I will duly adminiſter juſtice "according to evidence; and to the directions of "an act, intitled, An Act for forming and regu- "lating the militia of the province of Penſylvania, "without partiality, favour or affection; and that "I will not divulge the ſentence of the court, "until it ſhall be approved of by the Governor "or Commander in chief of this province for the "time being; neither will I, upon any account, "at any time whatſoever, diſcloſe or *diſcover the* "*vote or opinion* of any particular member of "the court-martial. So help me God."—'And 'no ſentence of Death, or other ſentence, ſhall 'be given againſt any offender, but by the con- 'currence of *nine* of the officers ſo ſworn. And 'no ſentence paſſed againſt any offender by ſuch 'court-martial ſhall be put in execution, until 'report be made of the whole proceedings to 'the Governor or Commander in chief of this 'province for the time being, and his directions 'ſignified thereupon.'

It is obſervable here, that by the common courſe of juſtice, a man is to be tried by a Jury of his neighbours and fellows; impannelled by a ſheriff, in whoſe appointment the people have a choice: the priſoner too has a right to challenge twenty of the pannel, without giving a reaſon, and as many more as he can give reaſons for chal-

lenging;

lenging; and before he can be convicted, the Jury are to be unanimous; they are all to agree that he is guilty, and are therefore all accountable for their verdict.—But by this amendment, the Jury (if they may be ſo called) are all officers of the Governor's ſole appointing; and not one of them can be challenged; And though a common militia man is to be tried, no common militia man ſhall be of that Jury; And ſo far from requiring all to agree, a bare majority ſhall be ſufficient to condemn you. And leſt that majority ſhould be under any check or reſtraint, from an apprehenſion of what the world might think or ſay of the ſeverity or injuſtice of their ſentence; an Oath is to be taken, never to diſcover the vote or opinion of any particular member!

Theſe are ſome of the chains attempted to be forged for you by the Proprietary faction!—Who adviſed the G——r is not difficult to know. They are the very men, who now clamour at the Aſſembly for a propoſal of bringing the trial of a particular murder to this county, from another, where it was not thought ſafe for any man to be either juryman or witneſs; and call it disfranchiſing the people! who are now bawling about the conſtitution, and pretending vaſt concern for your liberties!—In refuſing you the leaſt means of recommending or expreſſing your regard for perſons to be placed over you as officers, and who were thus to be made your judges in life and eſtate; they have not regarded the example of the King, our wiſe as well as kind maſter; who in all

all his requiſitions made to the colonies, of raiſing troops for their defence, directed that "the better to facilitate the important ſervice, the commiſſions ſhould be given to ſuch as from their "weight and credit with the people, may be "beſt enabled to effectuate the levies *."—In eſtabliſhing a militia for the defence of the province, how could the "weight and credit" of men with the people be better diſcovered, than by the mode that bill directed; viz. by a majority of thoſe that were to be commanded, nominating three for each office to the Governor, of which three he might take the one he liked beſt?—

However, the courts-martial being eſtabliſhed, and all of us thus put into his Honour's abſolute power, the Governor goes on to enhance the fines and penalties: Thus in page 49 of the bill, where the Aſſembly had propoſed the fine to be Ten ſhillings, the Governor required it to be Ten pounds:—In page 50, where a fine of Five pounds was mentioned, the Governor's amendment required it to be made Fifty pounds. And in page 44, where the Aſſembly had ſaid, "ſhall forfeit "and pay any ſum, not exceeding Five pounds," the Governor's amendment ſays, "ſhall ſuffer "DEATH; or ſuch other puniſhment, as ſhall, "according to the nature of the offence, be in-"flicted by the ſentence of a court-martial!"—

The Aſſembly's refuſing to admit of theſe amendments in that bill, is one of their offences

* See Secretary of State's Letters in the printed Votes.

againſt the Lord Proprietary; for which that faction are now abuſing them in both the languages ‡ of the province, with all the virulence that reverend malice can dictate; enforced by numberleſs barefaced falſhoods, that only the moſt diſhoneſt and baſe would dare to invent, and none but the moſt weak and credulous can poſſibly believe.

VERITAS.

‡ [It is hardly neceſſary to mention here, that Penſylvania was ſettled by a mixture of *German* and *Engliſh*. E.]

Remarks

Remarks on a late Proteſt *againſt the Appointment of Mr.* FRANKLIN *as Agent for this Province* [of Penſylvania].

I Have generally paſſed over, with a ſilent diſregard, the *nameleſs* abuſive pieces that have been written againſt me †; and though this paper, called a PROTEST, is ſigned by ſome reſpectable names, I was, nevertheleſs, inclined to treat it with the ſame indifference; But as the Aſſembly is therein reflected on upon my account, it is thought more my duty to make ſome remarks upon it.

I would firſt obſerve then, that this mode of *proteſting* by the minority, with a ſtring of reaſons againſt the proceedings of the majority of the Houſe of Aſſembly, is quite new among us; the preſent is the ſecond we have had of the kind, and both within a few months. It is unknown to the practice of the Houſe of Commons, or of any Houſe of Repreſentatives in *America*, that I have heard of; and ſeems an affected imitation of the Lords in Parliament; which can by no means become Aſſembly-men of America.—Hence appears the abſurdity of the complaint, that the Houſe refuſed the Proteſt an *entry* on their minutes. The proteſters know that they are not, by any cuſtom or uſage, intitled to ſuch an entry; and that the practice here is not only uſeleſs in itſelf, but would be highly inconvenient to the

† [N.B. This was written and ſigned by Dr. Franklin. E.]

Houſe; ſince it would probably be thought neceſſary for the majority alſo to enter their reaſons, to juſtify themſelves to their conſtituents; whereby the minutes would be incumbered, and the public buſineſs obſtructed. More eſpecially will it be found inconvenient, if ſuch Proteſts are made uſe of as a new form of libelling, as the vehicles of perſonal malice, and as means of giving to private abuſe the appearance of a ſanction as public acts. Your Proteſt, Gentlemen, was therefore properly refuſed; and ſince it is no part of the proceedings of Aſſembly, one may with the more freedom examine it.

Your firſt reaſon againſt my appointment is, that you "believe me to be the chief author of the "meaſures purſued by the laſt Aſſembly, which "have occaſioned *ſuch uneaſineſs* and diſtraction "among the good people of this province." I ſhall not diſpute my ſhare in thoſe meaſures; I hope they are ſuch as will in time do honour to all that were concerned in them. But you ſeem miſtaken in the order of time: It was the uneaſineſs and diſtraction among the good people of the province that occaſioned the meaſures; the province was in confuſion before they were taken, and they were purſued in order to prevent ſuch uneaſineſs and diſtraction for the future. Make one ſtep farther back, and you will find *proprietary* injuſtice ſupported by proprietary minions and creatures, the original cauſe of all our uneaſineſs and diſtractions.

Another

Another of your reaſons is, " that I am, as " you are informed, very *unfavourably* thought " of by ſeveral of his *Majeſty's miniſters.*" I apprehend, Gentlemen, that your informer is miſtaken. He indeed has taken great pains to give unfavourable impreſſions of me, and perhaps may flatter himſelf, that it is impoſſible ſo much true induſtry ſhould be totally without effect. His long ſucceſs in maiming or murdering all the reputations that ſtand in his way (which has been the dear delight and conſtant employment of his life) may likewiſe have given him ſome juſt ground for confidence that he has, as they call it, *done for me*, among the reſt.—But, as I ſaid before, I believe he is miſtaken. For what have I done that they ſhould think unfavourably of me? It cannot be my conſtantly and uniformly promoting the meaſures of the crown, ever ſince I had any influence in the province. It cannot, ſurely, be my promoting the change from a proprietary to a royal government.—If indeed I had, by ſpeeches and writings, endeavoured to make his Majeſty's government univerſally odious in the province: If I had harangued by the week, to all comers and goers, on the pretended injuſtice and oppreſſions of royal government, and the ſlavery of the people under it: If I had written traitorous papers to this purpoſe, and got them tranſlated into other languages, to give his Majeſty's foreign ſubjects here thoſe horrible ideas of it: If I had declared, written and printed, that " the King's

" little finger we ſhould find heavier than the " Proprietor's whole loins," with regard to our liberties; *then indeed* might the miniſters be ſuppoſed to think unfavourably of me. But theſe are not exploits for a man who holds a profitable office under the crown, and can expect to hold it no longer than he behaves with the fidelity and duty that becomes every good ſubject. They are only for officers of proprietary appointment; who hold their commiſſions during his, and not the King's, pleaſure; and who, by dividing among themſelves and their relations, offices of many thouſands a year enjoyed by proprietary favour, *feel* where to place their loyalty. I wiſh they were as good ſubjects to his *Majeſty*;—and perhaps they may be ſo, when the proprietary interferes no longer.

Another of your reaſons is, " that the propoſal " of me for *an agent*, is extremely diſagreeable to " a very great number of the moſt ſerious and " reputable inhabitants of the province; and the " *proof* is, my having been rejected at the laſt " election, though I had repreſented the city in " Aſſembly for fourteen years."

And do thoſe of you, Gentlemen, reproach me with this, who, among near four thouſand voters, had ſcarcely a ſcore more than I had? It ſeems then, that your *elections* were very near being *rejections*, and thereby furniſhing the ſame proof in your caſe that you produce in mine, of *your* being likewiſe extremely diſagreeable to a very great

great number of the moſt ſerious and reputable people. Do you, honourable Sir, reproach me with this; who for almoſt twice 14 years have been rejected (if *not being choſen* is *to be rejected)* by the ſame people; and (unable, with all your wealth and connections, and the influence they give you, to obtain an election in the county where you reſide, and the city where you were born, and are beſt known;) have been obliged to accept a ſeat from one of the out counties, the remoteſt of the province!—It is known, Sir, to the perſons who propoſed me, that I was firſt choſen againſt my inclination; and againſt my entreaties that I might be ſuffered to remain a private man. In none of the 14 elections you mention did I ever appear as a candidate. I never did, directly, or indirectly ſolicit any man's vote. For ſix of the years in which I was annually choſen, I was abſent; reſiding in England; during all which time, your ſecret and open attacks upon my character and reputation were inceſſant; and yet you gained no ground. And can you really, Gentlemen, find matter of triumph in this *rejection* as you call it?—A moment's reflection on the means by which it was obtained, muſt make you aſhamed of it.

Not only my duty to the crown, in carrying the poſt-office act more duly into execution, was made uſe of to exaſperate the ignorant, as if I was encreaſing my own profits, by picking their pockets; but my very zeal in oppoſing the murderers, and ſupporting the authority of government; and even

my humanity, with regard to the innocent *Indians* under our protection; were muſtered among my offences, to ſtir up againſt me thoſe religious bigots, who are of all ſavages the moſt brutiſh. Add to this the numberleſs falſhoods propagated as truths; and the many perjuries procured among the wretched rabble brought to ſwear themſelves intitled to a vote;—And yet ſo *poor a ſuperiority* obtained at all this expence of honour and conſcience! can this, Gentlemen, be matter of triumph? Enjoy it then Your exultation, however, was ſhort.—Your artifices did not prevail every where; nor your double tickets, and whole boxes of forged votes. A great majority of the new choſen aſſembly were of the old members, and remain uncorrupted. They ſtill ſtood firm for the people, and will obtain juſtice from the proprietaries. But what does that avail to you, who are in the proprietary intereſt? And what comfort can it afford you, when, by the aſſembly's choice of an *agent*, it appears that the ſame, to you obnoxious, man, (notwithſtanding all your venomous invectives againſt him) ſtill retains ſo great a ſhare of the public confidence?

But "this ſtep, you ſay, gives you the more "lively affliction; as it is taken at the *very mo-* "*ment* when you were informed by a member "of the houſe, that the governor had aſſured him "of his having received inſtructions from the "proprietaries, to give his aſſent to the taxation "of their eſtates; in the *ſame manner* that the

"eſtates

" eſtates of other perſons are to be taxed; and alſo " *to confirm*, for the public uſe, the ſeveral " ſquares formerly *claimed* by the city."—O the force of friendſhip! the power of intereſt! What politeneſs they infuſe into a writer, and what *delicate* expreſſions they produce!—The diſpute between the proprietaries and us was about the *quantum*, the *rate* of their taxation; and not about the *manner*; But now, when all the world condemns them for requiring a partial exemption of their eſtates, and they are forced to ſubmit to an honeſt equality, it is called " *aſſenting* to be taxed " in the *ſame manner* with the people."—Their *reſtitution* of five public ſquares in the plan of the city, which they had near forty years unjuſtly and diſhonourably ſeized and detained from us, (directing their ſurveyor to map ſtreets over them, in order to turn them into lots, and their officers to ſell a part of them;) this their *diſgorging*, is ſoftly called *confirming* them for the public uſe; and inſtead of the plain words "*formerly given* to the city, " by the firſt proprietary their father," we have the cautious pretty expreſſion of " formerly *claimed* " by the city:" Yes; not only *formerly*, but *always* claimed, ever ſince they were *promiſed* and *given* to encourage the ſettlers; and ever will be *claimed*, till we are put in actual poſſeſſion of them. It is pleaſant, however, to ſee how lightly and tenderly you trip over theſe matters, as if you trod upon eggs.—But that " VERY MOMENT;" that precious moment! Why was it ſo long delayed? Why were thoſe healing inſtructions ſo long

long withheld and concealed from the people? They were, it ſeems, brought over by Mr. *Allen* *: Intelligence was received by various hands from London, that orders were ſent by the proprietaries, from which great hopes were entertained of an accommodation. Why was the bringing and the delivery of ſuch orders ſo long *denied?* The reaſon is eaſily underſtood. Meſſieurs Barclays, friends to both proprietaries and people, wiſhed for that Gentleman's happy arrival; hoping his *influence*, added to the *power* and *commiſſions* the proprietaries had veſted him with, might prove effectual in reſtoring harmony and tranquillity among us; But *he*, it ſeems, hoped his *influence* might do the buſineſs, without thoſe additions.—There appeared on his arrival ſome proſpect (from ſundry circumſtances) of a *change* to be made in the houſe by the approaching election. The proprietary friends and creatures knew the heart of their maſter; and how extremely diſagreeable to him that *equal taxation*, that *reſtitution*, and the other *conceſſions* to be made for the ſake of a reconciliation, muſt neceſſarily be. They hoped therefore to ſpare him all thoſe mortifications, and thereby

* *Extract of a Letter, dated* London, Auguſt 6, 1764, *from* David Barclay *and Sons, to Meſſieurs* James *and* Drinker.

"We very much wiſh for *William Allen*'s happy arrival on your "ſide; when we hope his influence, added to the *power* and *com-* "*miſſions* the proprietaries have inveſted him with, may prove effec- "tual, in reſtoring harmony and tranquillity among you, ſo much "to be deſired by every well-wiſher to your province. Pray be aſ- "ſured of our ſincereſt and beſt wiſhes for the ſucceſs of this ſalutary "work, and that nothing in our power, to contribute thereto, will "ever be wanting."

ſecure

ſecure a greater portion of his favour. Hence the inſtructions were not produced to the laſt aſſembly; though they arrived before the September ſitting, when the governor was in town, and actually did buſineſs with the houſe. Nor to the new aſſembly were they mentioned; till the "*very moment*," the fatal moment, when the houſe were on the point of chooſing that wicked adverſary of the proprietary, to be an *agent* for the province in *England*.

But I have, you ſay, a "fixed *enmity to the* "*proprietaries*," and "you believe it will *pre-* "*clude all accommodation* of our diſputes with "them, even on juſt and reaſonable terms."— And why do you think I have a fixed enmity to the proprietaries? I have never had any perſonal difference with them. I am no land-jobber; and therefore have never had any thing to do with their land-office or officers; if I had, probably, like others, I might have been obliged to truckle to their meaſures, or have had like cauſes of complaint.—But our private intereſts never claſhed; and all their reſentment againſt me, and mine to them, has been on the public account. Let them do juſtice to the people of Penſylvania, act honourably by the citizens of Philadelphia, and become honeſt men; my enmity, if that's of any conſequence, ceaſes from the "*very moment*;" and, as ſoon as I poſſibly can, I promiſe to love, honour and reſpect them.—In the mean time, why do you "believe it will preclude all *ac-* "*commodation* with them on juſt and reaſonable "terms?"

" terms ?" Do you not boaſt, that their gracious condeſcenſions are in the hands of the governor; and that " if this had been the uſual time for " buſineſs, his honour would have ſent them " down in a meſſage to the houſe." How then can my going to *England* prevent this accommodation ? The governor can call the Houſe when he pleaſes; and, one would think, that, at leaſt in your opinion, my being out of the way would be a favourable circumſtance. For then, by " cul- " tivating the diſpoſition ſhown by the proprie- " taries, every *reaſonable demand* that can be made " on the part of the people might be obtained: " in vigorouſly inſiſting on which, you promiſe " to unite moſt earneſtly with the reſt of the " Houſe."—It ſeems then we have " *reaſonable* " *demands*" to make, and as you call them a little higher, *equitable demands*. This is much for proprietary minions to own; But you are all growing better, in imitation of your maſter, which is indeed very commendable. And if the accommodation here ſhould fail, I hope that though you diſlike the perſon a majority of two to one in the Houſe have thought fit to appoint an agent; you will nevertheleſs, in duty to your country, continue the noble reſolution of uniting with the reſt of the Houſe, in vigorouſly inſiſting on that *equity* and *juſtice*, which ſuch an union will undoubtedly obtain for us.

I paſs over the trivial charge againſt the Aſſembly, that they " acted with *unneceſſary haſte* " in proceeding to this appointment, without making

" making a ſmall adjournment," &c. and your affected apprehenſions of danger from that haſte. The neceſſity of expedition on this occaſion is as obvious to every one out of doors, as it was to thoſe within; and the fears you mention are not, I fancy, conſiderable enough to break your reſt.—I come then to your *high* charge againſt me, " That I " heretofore ventured, *contrary* to an act of Aſ- " ſembly, to place the public money in the ſtocks; " whereby this province ſuffered a loſs of 6000l. " and that ſum, added to the 5000l. granted for " my expences, makes the whole coſt of my for- " mer voyage to *England* amount to ELEVEN " THOUSAND POUNDS!"—How wiſely was that form in our laws contrived, which when a man is arraigned for his life, requires the evidence to ſpeak *the truth*, the *whole truth*, and *nothing but the truth!* The reaſon is manifeſt. A falſhood may deſtroy the innocent; ſo may *part of a truth* without *the whole*; and a mixture of truth and falſhood may be full as pernicious. You, Mr. Chief Juſtice, and the other juſtices among the proteſters, and you, Sir, who are a Counſellor at Law; muſt all of you be well acquainted with this excellent form; and when you arraigned my reputation (dearer to me than life) before the Aſ- ſembly, and now at the reſpectable tribunal of the public; would it not have well become your Honours to have had ſome ſmall regard at leaſt to the ſpirit of that form?—You might have men- tioned, that the direction of the act to lodge the money in the Bank, ſubject to the drafts of the

truſtees

truſtees of the loan-office here, was impracticable; that the bank refuſed to receive it on thoſe terms; it being contrary to their ſettled rules to take charge of money ſubject to the orders of unknown people living in diſtant countries. You might have mentioned, that the houſe being informed of this, and having no immediate call for the money, did *themſelves* adopt the meaſure of placing it in the ſtocks, which then were low; where it might on a peace produce a conſiderable profit, and in the mean time accumulate an intereſt: That they even paſſed a bill, directing the ſubſequent ſums granted by parliament, to be placed with the former: that the meaſure was prudent and ſafe; and that the loſs aroſe, not from *placing* the money IN the ſtocks, but from the imprudent and unneceſſary DRAWING IT OUT at the very time when they were loweſt, on ſome ſlight uncertain rumours of a peace concluded: that if the aſſembly had let it remain another year, inſtead of loſing they would have gained *Six Thouſand pounds*; and that after all, ſince the exchange at which they ſold their bills, was near *twenty per cent.* higher when they drew than when the ſtocks were purchaſed, the loſs was far from being ſo great as you repreſent it. All theſe things you might have ſaid; for they are, and you know them to be, part of the *whole truth*; but they would have ſpoiled your accuſation.— The late ſpeaker of your honourable Houſe, Mr. *Norris*, (who has, I ſuppoſe, all my letters to him, and copies of his own to me, relating to that tranſaction) can teſtify with how much integrity

tegrity and clearneſs I managed the whole affair. All the Houſe were ſenſible of it, being from time to time fully acquainted with the facts.—If I had gone to gaming in the ſtocks with the public money, and through my fault a ſum was loſt, as your proteſt would inſinuate; why was I not cenſured and puniſhed for it when I returned? You, honourable Sir (my enemy of ſeven years ſtanding) was then in the Houſe. You were appointed on the committee for examining my accounts; you reported that you found them juſt, and ſigned that report *.—I never ſolicited the employ of agent; I made

* *Report of the Committee on* Benjamin Franklin's *Accounts.*

" In obedience to the order of the Houſe, we have examined the " account of *Benjamin Franklin*, Eſq; with the vouchers to us pro- " duced in ſupport thereof; and do find the ſame account to be juſt, " and that he has expended, in the immediate ſervice of this pro- " vince, the ſum of *Seven hundred and Fourteen pounds, Ten ſhillings* " *and Seven-pence*, out of the ſum of *Fifteen hundred pounds* ſterling, " to him remitted and paid; excluſive of any allowance or charge " for his ſupport and ſervices for the province.

	JOHN MORTON,	JOHN HUGHES,
	WILLIAM ALLEN,	SAMUEL RHOADS,
February 19, 1763.	JOHN ROSS,	JOHN WILKINSON,
	JOHN MOOR,	ISAAC PEARSON.
	JOSEPH FOX,	

" The Houſe taking the foregoing report of the committee of ac- " counts into conſideration, and having ſpent ſome time therein,

" *Reſolved*,

" That the ſum of *Five hundred pounds* ſterling *per annum* be " allowed and given to *Benjamin Franklin*, Eſq; late agent for the " province of *Penſylvania* at the court of *Great Britain*, during his " abſence of ſix years from his buſineſs and connections, in the ſer- " vice of the public; and that the thanks of this Houſe be alſo given " to the ſaid Gentleman by Mr. Speaker, from the chair; as well " for the faithful diſcharge of his duty to this province in particular, " as for the many and important ſervices done *America* in general, " during his reſidence in *Great Britain*."

Thurſday,

I made no bargain for my future ſervice, when I was ordered to *England* by the aſſembly; nor did they vote me any ſalary. I lived there near ſix years at my own expence; and I made no charge or demand when I came home. You, Sir, of all others, was the very member that propoſed (for the honour and juſtice of the Houſe) a compenſation to be made me of the *Five thouſand pounds* you mention. Was it with an intent to reproach me thus publicly for accepting it?—I thanked the Houſe for it then, and I thank you now for propoſing it: Though you, who have lived in *England*, can eaſily conceive, that beſides the prejudice to my private affairs by my abſence, a *Thouſand pounds* more would not have reimburſed me.—The money voted was immediately paid me. But if I had occaſioned the loſs of *Six thouſand pounds* to the province, here was a fair opportunity of ſecuring eaſily the greateſt part of it; why was not the *Five thouſand pounds* deducted, and the remainder called for? The reaſon is, this accuſation was not then invented.—Permit me to add,

Thurſday, March 31, 1763.

"Purſuant to a reſolve of the nineteenth of laſt month, that the "thanks of this Houſe be given to *Benjamin Franklin*, Eſq; for "his many ſervices not only to the province of *Penſylvania*, but to "*America* in general, during his late agency at the court of *Great* "*Britain*; the ſame were this day accordingly given in form from "the chair.——To which Mr. *Franklin*, reſpectfully addreſſing "himſelf to the Speaker, made anſwer, That he was thankful to "the Houſe, for the very handſome and generous allowance they "had been pleaſed to make him for his ſervices; but that the ap-"probation of this Houſe was, in his eſtimation, far above every "other kind of recompence." *Votes*, 1763.

that

that ſuppoſing the whole *Eleven thouſand pounds* an expence occaſioned by my voyage to *England*; yet the taxation of the proprietary eſtate now eſtabliſhed, will, when valued by years purchaſe, be found in time an advantage to the public, far exceeding that expence. And if the expence is at preſent a burthen, the odium of it ought to lie on thoſe who, by their injuſtice, made the voyage neceſſary; and not on me, who only ſubmitted to the orders of the houſe, in undertaking it.

I am now to take leave (perhaps a laſt leave) of the country I love, and in which I have ſpent the greateſt part of my life.—ESTO PERPETUA.—I wiſh every kind of proſperity to my friends,—and I forgive my enemies *.

Philadelphia, Nov. 5, 1764.

B. FRANKLIN.

* [Dr. Franklin appears from this paſſage to have been on the point of returning to England. See alſo his *Examination*, p. 294. E.]

PREFACE *by a Member of the Penſylvanian Aſſembly* [viz. Dr. Franklin] *to the Speech of* Joſeph Galloway, Eſq; *one of the Members for Philadelphia County; in Anſwer to the Speech of John Dickinſon, Eſq; delivered in the Houſe of Aſſembly of the Province of Penſylvania, May* 24, 1764;—*on Occaſion of a Petition drawn up by Order, and then under the Conſideration of the Houſe, praying His Majeſty for a* Royal, *in lieu of a* Proprietary, *Government* *.

IT is not merely becauſe Mr. *Dickinſon*'s ſpeech was uſhered into the world by a *preface*, that one is made to this of Mr. *Galloway*. But as in

* [As I am very much unacquainted with the hiſtory and principles of theſe provincial politics, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſome imperfect anecdotes concerning the parties, &c.—A ſpeech which Mr. *Dickinſon* had delivered in the Penſylvania aſſembly againſt the abolition of the proprietary government, having been publiſhed, and a preface having been written to it as I think by a Dr. Smith; Mr. Galloway's ſpeech was held forth as a proper anſwer to that ſpeech, while the preface to it appeared balanced by the above preface from Dr. Franklin. Mr. Galloway's ſpeech, or probably the advertiſement that attended it, urged, I believe, Mr. Dickinſon firſt to a challenge, and then to a printed reply.——The controverſy was quickly republiſhed in England, or at leaſt the principal parts of it; and it is from the Engliſh edition of Mr. Galloway's ſpeech, (printed in London by Nichols in 1765) that I have copied the above.

Theſe ſeveral gentlemen however ſeem for a time to have better agreed in their ſubſequent opinions, concerning American taxation by Great Britain; Mr. Dickinſon in particular having taken a very ſpirited line in the *Farmer's Letters* and other pieces, which procured him conſiderable reputation. The Congreſs declaration nevertheleſs for independence, was reported not to have given perfect ſatisfaction, at firſt, either to himſelf or to Mr. Galloway. And in the event, Mr. Galloway, thought proper to come over to General Howe, and afterwards to embark for England. E.]

that

that preface a number of aſperſions were thrown on our aſſemblies, and their proceedings groſly miſrepreſented; it was thought neceſſary to wipe thoſe aſperſions off by ſome proper animadverſions; and by a true ſtate of facts, to rectify thoſe miſrepreſentations.

The preface begins with ſaying, that 'Governor *Denny*, (whoſe adminiſtration will never be 'mentioned but with diſgrace in the annals of 'this province,) was induced by conſiderations to 'which the world is now no ſtranger, to paſs 'ſundry acts,' &c. thus inſinuating, that by ſome unuſual baſe bargain ſecretly made, but afterwards diſcovered, he was induced to paſs them.

It is fit, therefore, without undertaking to juſtify all that Governor's adminiſtration, to ſhew *what* thoſe conſiderations were.—Ever ſince the revenue of the quit-rents firſt, and after that, the revenue of tavern-licences, were ſettled irrevocably on our proprietors and governors; they have looked on thoſe incomes as their proper eſtate, for which they were under no obligations to the people: and when they afterwards concurred in paſſing any uſeful laws, they conſidered them as ſo many jobs, for which they ought to be particularly paid. Hence aroſe the cuſtom of *preſents* twice a year to the Governors, at the cloſe of each ſeſſion in which laws were paſſed, given at the time of paſſing: they uſually amounted to a thouſand pounds per annum. But when the Governors and Aſſemblies diſagreed, ſo that laws

were not paſſed, the preſents were withheld.—When a diſpoſition to agree enſued, there ſometimes ſtill remained ſome *diffidence*. The Governors would not paſs the laws that were wanted, without being ſure of the money, even all that they called their arrears; nor the Aſſemblies give the money without being ſure of the laws. Thence the neceſſity of ſome private conference, in which mutual aſſurances of good faith might be received and given, that the tranſactions ſhould go hand in hand.—What name the impartial reader will give to this kind of commerce, I cannot ſay: To me it appears an extortion of more money from the people, for that to which they had before an undoubted right, both by the conſtitution and by purchaſe; but there was no other ſhop they could go to for the commodity they wanted, and they were obliged to comply. Time eſtabliſhed the cuſtom, and made it ſeem honeſt; ſo that our Governors, even thoſe of the moſt undoubted honour, have practiſed it. — Governor *Thomas*, after a long miſunderſtanding with the Aſſembly, went more openly to work with them in managing this commerce, and they with him. The fact is curious, as it ſtands recorded in the votes of 1742-3. Sundry bills ſent up to the Governor for his aſſent had lain long in his hands, without any anſwer. Jan. 4. the Houſe 'Ordered, That 'Thomas Leech and Edward Warner wait upon 'the Governor; and acquaint him, that the Houſe 'had long waited for his reſult on the bills that 'lie before him, and deſire to know when they 'may

'may expect it:' The gentlemen return, and report, 'That they waited upon the Governor, and 'delivered the meſſage of the Houſe according to 'order; and that the Governor was pleaſed to ſay, 'He had had the bills long under conſideration, 'and *waited the reſult* of the *Houſe.*' The Houſe well underſtood this hint; and immediately reſolved into a committee of the whole Houſe, to take what was called *the Governor's ſupport* into conſideration; in which they made (the minutes ſay) *ſome progreſs*; and the next morning it appears, that that *progreſs*, whatever it was, had been communicated to him; for he ſent them down this meſſage by his ſecretary: 'Mr. Speaker, 'The Governor commands me to acquaint you, 'that as he has received aſſurances of a *good diſ-* 'poſition in the Houſe, he thinks it incumbent on 'him to ſhew *the like* on his part; and therefore 'ſends down the bills which lay before him, 'without any amendment.' As this meſſage only ſhewed a good diſpoſition, but contained no promiſe to paſs the bills, the Houſe ſeem to have had their doubts; and therefore, February 2, when they came to reſolve, on the report of the grand committee, to give the money, they guarded their reſolves very cautiouſly, viz. 'Reſolved, That *on* 'the *paſſage* of ſuch bills as now lie before the 'Governor, (the naturalization bill, and ſuch 'other bills as may be preſented to him during 'this ſitting) there be PAID him the ſum of *Five* 'hundred pounds. Reſolved alſo, That on the 'paſſage of ſuch bills as now lie before the Go-

'vernor (the naturalization bill, and ſuch other 'bills as may be preſented to him this ſitting) 'there be PAID to the Governor the *further* ſum 'of *One thouſand pounds*, for the current year's 'ſupport; and that orders be drawn on the trea-'ſurer and truſtees of the loan-office, purſuant to 'theſe reſolves.' The orders were accordingly drawn; with which being acquainted, he appointed a time to paſs the bills; which was done with one hand, while he received the orders in the other: and then with the utmoſt politeneſs [he] thanked the Houſe for the Fifteen hundred pounds, as if it had been a pure free gift, and a mere mark of their reſpect and affection. 'I *thank* '*you*, Gentlemen (ſays he) for this inſtance of '*your regard*; which I am the more pleaſed with, 'as it gives an agreeable proſpect of *future har-'mony* between me and the repreſentatives of the 'people.'—This, reader, is an exact *counterpart* of the tranſaction with Governor *Denny*; except that Denny ſent word to the Houſe, that he would paſs the bills *before* they voted the ſupport. And yet *here* was no proprietary clamour about bribery, &c.—And why ſo? Why at that time the *proprietary* family, by virtue of a *ſecret bond* they had obtained of the Governor at his appointment, were to *ſhare with* him the ſums ſo obtained of the people!

This reſervation of the proprietaries they were at that time a little aſhamed of; and therefore ſuch bonds were then to be ſecrets. But as in every kind of ſinning frequent repetition leſſens ſhame,

ſhame, and increaſes boldneſs; we find the *proprietaries* ten years afterwards, openly inſiſting on theſe advantages to themſelves, *over and above* what was paid to their deputy: 'Wherefore (ſay they *) 'on this occaſion it is neceſſary that we ſhould 'inform the people, through yourſelves their re-'preſentatives; that as by the conſtitution OUR 'CONSENT IS NECESSARY to their LAWS, at 'the ſame time that they have an *undoubted right* 'to ſuch as are neceſſary for the defence and real 'ſervice of the country; ſo it will tend the better 'to *facilitate* the ſeveral matters which muſt be 'tranſacted with us, for their repreſentatives to 'ſhew a *regard to us* and our INTEREST.' This was in their anſwer to the repreſentation of the aſſembly, [Votes, December, 1754, p. 48.] on the juſtice of their contributing to Indian expences, which they had refuſed.—And on this clauſe the committee make the following remark: 'They 'tell us, their conſent is neceſſary to our laws, 'and that it will tend the better to facilitate the 'matters which muſt be tranſacted with them, 'for the repreſentatives to ſhew a regard to their 'INTEREST: That is, (as we underſtand it) 'though the Proprietaries have a deputy here, 'ſupported by the province, who is, or ought to 'be, fully impowered to paſs all laws neceſſary for 'the ſervice of the country; yet, before we can 'obtain ſuch laws, we muſt facilitate their paſſage 'by paying money for the proprietaries, which 'they ought to pay; or in ſome ſhape make it

* [i. e. to the Aſſembly. E.]

'their particular INTEREST to paſs them. We 'hope, however, that if this practice has ever 'been begun, it will never be continued in this 'province; and that ſince, as this very paragraph 'allows, we have an undoubted right to ſuch 'laws, we ſhall always be able to obtain them from 'the goodneſs of our ſovereign, without going to 'market for them to a ſubject.'—Time has ſhewn that thoſe hopes were vain; they have been obliged to go to that market ever ſince, directly or indirectly; or go without their laws. The practice has continued: and will continue, as long as the proprietary government ſubſiſts, intervening between the crown and the people.

Do not, my courteous reader, take pet at our proprietary conſtitution, for theſe our bargain and ſale proceedings in legiſlation.—It is a happy country where juſtice, and what was your own before, can be had for ready money. It is another addition to the value of money, and of courſe another ſpur to induſtry.—Every land is not ſo bleſſed. There are countries where the princely proprietor claims to be lord of all property, where what is your own ſhall not only be wreſted from you; but the money you give to have it reſtored ſhall be kept with it; and your offering ſo much, being a ſign of your being too rich, you ſhall be plundered of every thing that remained. Theſe times are not come here yet: Your preſent proprietors have never been more unreaſonable hitherto, than barely to inſiſt on your fighting in defence of *their* property, and paying the expence

your-

yourſelves; or if their eſtates muſt [ah! *muſt*] be taxed towards it, that the *beſt* of their lands ſhall be taxed no higher than the *worſt* of yours.

Pardon this digreſſion, and I return to Governor Denny;—But firſt let me do Governor *Hamilton* the juſtice to obſerve, that whether from the uprightneſs of his own diſpoſition, or from the odious light the practice had been ſet in on Denny's account, or from both; he did not attempt theſe bargains, but paſſed ſuch laws as he thought fit to paſs, without any *previous* ſtipulation of pay for them. But then, when he ſaw the aſſembly tardy in the payment he expected, and yet calling upon him ſtill to paſs more laws; he openly put them in mind of the money, as a *debt* due to him from cuſtom. 'in the courſe 'of the preſent year (ſays he, in his meſſage of 'July 8, 1763,) a great deal of public buſineſs 'hath been tranſacted by me, and I believe as 'many uſeful laws enacted, as by any of my pre-'deceſſors in the ſame ſpace of time; yet I have 'not underſtood that any allowance hath hitherto 'been made to me for my ſupport, as hath been 'cuſtomary in this province.' The houſe having then ſome bills in hand, took the matter into immediate conſideration, and voted him five hundred pounds; for which an order or certificate was accordingly drawn: And on the ſame day the ſpeaker, after the houſe had been with the governor, reported, 'That his Honour had been pleaſed 'to give his aſſent to the bills, by enacting the 'ſame into laws. And Mr. Speaker farther re-

'ported,

'ported, That he had then, in behalf of the houſe, 'preſented their certificate of Five hundred Pounds 'to the Governor; who was pleaſed to ſay, he was 'obliged to the houſe for the ſame.'—Thus we ſee the practice of purchaſing and paying for laws is interwoven with our proprietary conſtitution, uſed in the beſt times, and under the beſt Governors.—And yet, alas poor aſſembly! how will you ſteer your brittle bark between theſe rocks? If you pay *ready money* for your laws, and thoſe laws are not liked by the proprietaries, you are charged with bribery and corruption: If you *wait a while* before you pay, you are accuſed of detaining the Governor's cuſtomary right, and dunned as a negligent or diſhoneſt debtor, that refuſes to diſcharge a juſt debt!

But Governor *Denny*'s caſe, I ſhall be told, differs from all theſe; for the acts he was induced to paſs were, as the Prefacer tells us, '*contrary* '*to his duty, and to every tie of honour and juſ-* '*tice.*' Such is the imperfection of our language, and perhaps of all other languages, that notwithſtanding we are furniſhed with dictionaries innumerable, we cannot preciſely know the import of words, unleſs we know of what party the man is that uſes them.—In the mouth of an *aſſembly-man*, or true Penſylvanian, "contrary to his duty "and to every tie of honour and juſtice," would mean; the Governor's long refuſal to paſs laws, however juſt and neceſſary, for taxing the proprietary eſtate: A refuſal, contrary to the truſt

repoſed in the Lieutenant-Governor by the royal charter to the rights of the people, whoſe welfare it was his duty to promote; and to the nature of the contract made between the Governor and the governed, when the quit-rents and licence fees were eſtabliſhed, which confirmed what the proprietaries call our "undoubted right" to neceſſary laws.—But in the mouth of the *Proprietaries*, or their creatures, "contrary to his duty, and to "every tie of juſtice and honour," means his paſſing laws contrary to proprietary inſtructions; and contrary to the bonds he had previouſly given to obſerve thoſe inſtructions: Inſtructions however, that were unjuſt and unconſtitutional; and bonds, that were illegal and void from the beginning.

Much has been ſaid of the *wickedneſs* of Governor Denny in paſſing, and of the aſſembly in prevailing with him to paſs, thoſe acts. By the Prefacer's account of them, you would think the laws ſo obtained were *all* bad; for he ſpeaks of but *ſeven*; of which ſix he ſays were repealed, and the ſeventh reported to be 'fundamentally WRONG 'and UNJUST,' 'and ought to be repealed, *un-* 'leſs ſix certain amendments were made there-'in *.' Whereas in fact there were *nineteen* of them; and ſeveral of thoſe muſt have been good laws, for even the Proprietaries did not object to them. Of the eleven that they oppoſed, only

* This act is intitled, An act for granting to his Majeſty the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds; ſtriking the ſame in bills of credit, and ſinking the bills by a tax on all eſtates real and perſonal.

ſix

ſix were repealed; ſo that it ſeems theſe good Gentlemen may themſelves be ſometimes as wrong in oppoſing, as the aſſembly in enacting laws. —But the words "fundamentally WRONG and "UNJUST" are the great fund of triumph to the Proprietaries and their partizans. Theſe their ſubſequent Governors have unmercifully dinned in the ears of the aſſembly on all occaſions ever ſince; for they make a part of near a dozen of their meſſages.—They have rung the changes on thoſe words, till they worked them up to ſay that the law was fundamentally wrong and unjuſt in *ſix ſeveral articles*; (Governor's meſſage, May 17, 1764.) inſtead of 'ought to be repealed, *unleſs* 'ſix alterations or amendments could be made 'therein.'—A law unjuſt in ſix ſeveral articles, muſt be an unjuſt law indeed. Let us therefore, once for all, *examine* this unjuſt law, article by article; in order to ſee whether our aſſemblies have been ſuch villains as they have been repreſented.

The *firſt* particular in which their lordſhips propoſed the act ſhould be amended was, 'That 'the real eſtates to be taxed, be *defined with pre-* '*ciſion*; ſo as not to include the unſurveyed waſte 'land belonging to the proprietaries.'—This was at moſt but an *obſcurity* to be cleared up. and though the law might well appear to their lordſhips uncertain in that particular; with us, who better know our own cuſtoms, and that the proprietaries waſte unſurveyed land was never here conſidered among eſtates real, ſubject to taxation; there

there was not the leaſt doubt or ſuppoſition, that ſuch lands were included in the words " all eſtates " real and perſonal." The agents therefore *, knowing that the aſſembly had no intention to tax thoſe lands, might well ſuppoſe they would readily agree to remove the obſcurity.—Before we go farther, let it be obſerved, that the main deſign of the proprietaries in oppoſing this act was, to *prevent their eſtates being taxed at all.* But as they know that the doctrine of proprietary exemption, which they had endeavoured to enforce here, could not be ſupported there *; they bent their whole ſtrength againſt the act on *other* principles to procure its repeal; pretending great willingneſs to ſubmit to an equitable tax; but that the aſſembly, (out of mere malice, becauſe they had conſcientiouſly quitted Quakeriſm for the church!) were wickedly determined to ruin them, to tax all their unſurveyed wilderneſs-lands, and at the higheſt rates; and by that means exempt themſelves and the people, and throw the whole burden of the war on the proprietary family.—How foreign theſe charges were from the truth, need not be told to any man in Penſylvania. And as the proprietors knew that the hundred thouſand pounds of paper money, ſtruck for the defence of *their* enormous eſtates, with others; was actually iſſued, ſpread through the country, and in the hands of thouſands of poor people, who had given their labour for it; how baſe, cruel,

* [i. e. In England I ſuppoſe, when the laws were brought home to receive the King's aſſent. E.]

and

and inhuman it was to endeavour, by a repeal of the act, to ſtrike the money dead in thoſe hands at one blow, and reduce it all to waſte paper; to the utter confuſion of all trade and dealings, and the ruin of multitudes, merely to avoid paying their own juſt tax!—Words may be wanting to expreſs,—but minds will eaſily conceive,—and never without abhorrence!

The *ſecond* amendment propoſed by their Lordſhips was, 'That the located uncultivated 'lands belonging to the proprietaries ſhall not be 'aſſeſſed higher than the *loweſt* rate, at which any 'located uncultivated lands belonging to the in-'habitants ſhall be aſſeſſed.'—Had there been any proviſion in the act, that the proprietaries lands, and thoſe of the people, of the ſame value, ſhould be taxed differently, the one high, and the other low; the act might well have been called in this particular fundamentally wrong and unjuſt. But as there is no ſuch clauſe, this cannot be one of the particulars on which the charge is founded; but, like the firſt, is merely a requiſition to make the act *clear*; by expreſs directions therein, that the proprietaries eſtate ſhould not be, as they pretended to believe it would be, taxed higher in proportion to its value than the eſtates of others.—As to their preſent claim, founded on that article, 'that the beſt and moſt valuable of 'their lands, ſhould be taxed no higher than 'the worſt and leaſt valuable of the people's,' it was not *then* thought of; they made no ſuch demand; nor did any one dream that ſo iniquitous a claim

a claim would ever be made by men who had the leaſt pretence to the characters of honourable and honeſt.

The *third* particular was, 'That all lands *not* 'granted by the proprietaries *within boroughs and* 'towns; be deemed located uncultivated lands, 'and rated accordingly; and not as lots.' The clauſe in the act that this relates to is, 'And 'whereas many valuable lots of ground within 'the city of Philadelphia, and the ſeveral bo- 'roughs and towns within this province, remain 'unimproved; Be it enacted, &c. That *all* ſuch 'unimproved lots of ground within the city and 'boroughs aforeſaid ſhall be rated and aſſeſſed 'according to their ſituation and value, for and 'towards raiſing the money hereby granted.'— The reader will obſerve, that the word is, *all* unimproved lots; and that *all* comprehends the lots belonging to the people, as well as thoſe of the proprietary. There were many of the former; and a number belonging even to members of the then Aſſembly; and conſidering the value, the tax muſt be proportionably as grievous to them, as the proprietary's to him.—Is there among us a ſingle man, even a proprietary relation, officer, or dependant, ſo inſenſible of the differences of right and wrong, and ſo confuſed in his notions of juſt and unjuſt; as to think and ſay, that the act in this particular was fundamentally wrong and unjuſt? I believe not one.—What then could their Lordſhips mean by the propoſed amendment? Their meaning is eaſily explained. The proprieta-

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ries have conſiderable tracts of *land* within the bounds of boroughs and towns, that have not yet been divided into lots: They pretended to believe, that by virtue of this clauſe an imaginary diviſion would be made of *thoſe* lands into lots, and an extravagant value ſet on ſuch imaginary lots, greatly to their prejudice.—It was anſwered, that no ſuch thing was intended by the act; and that by lots was meant only ſuch ground as *had* been ſurveyed and divided into lots; and not the open undivided lands.—If this only is intended, ſay their lordſhips, then let the act be amended, ſo as *clearly* to expreſs what is intended. This is the full amount of the third particular.—How the act was underſtood here, is well known by the execution of it before the diſpute came on in England, and therefore before their lordſhips opinion on the point could be given; of which full proof ſhall preſently be made.—In the mean time it appears, that the act was not on *this* account fundamentally wrong and unjuſt.

The *fourth* particular is, 'That the *governor's* 'conſent and approbation be made neceſſary to 'every iſſue and application of the money, to be 'raiſed by virtue of ſuch act.'—The aſſembly intended this, and thought they had done it in the act. The words of the clauſe being, 'That '[the commiſſioners named] or the major part of 'them, or of the ſurvivors of them, *with the con-* '*ſent* or approbation of the governor or com-'mander in chief of this province for the time 'being; ſhall order and appoint *the diſpoſition of*

'*the monies* arising by virtue of this act, for and 'towards paying and clothing two thousand 'seven hundred effective men,' &c.—It was understood here, that as the power of disposing was expressly to be with the consent and approbation of the Governor; the commissioners had no power to dispose of the money without that approbation: But their lordships, jealous (as their station requires) of this prerogative of the crown, and being better acquainted with the force and weakness of law expression; did not think the clause explicit enough, unless the words "*and not otherwise*" were added, or some other words equivalent.—This particular therefore was no more than another requisition of greater *clearness* and precision; and by no means a foundation for the charge of fundamentally wrong and unjust.

The *fifth* particular was, 'That *provincial* com-'missioners be named, to hear and *determine ap-'peals*, brought on the part of the inhabitants, 'as well as the proprietaries.'—There was already subsisting a provision for the appointment of *county* commissioners of appeal; by whom the act might be, and actually has been (as we shall presently shew) justly and impartially executed with regard to the proprietaries; But *provincial* commissioners appointed in the act it was thought might be of use, in regulating and equalizing the modes of assessment of different counties, where they were unequal; and, by affording a second appeal, tend more to the satisfaction both of the proprietaries and the people.—This particular was

therefore a mere propoſed improvement of the act; which could not be, and was not, in this reſpect, denominated fundamentally wrong and unjuſt.

We have now gone through five of the ſix propoſed amendments, without diſcovering any thing on which that cenſure could be founded; but the *ſixth* remains; which points at a part of the act wherein we muſt candidly acknowledge there is ſomething, that, in their lordſhips view of it, muſt juſtify their judgment: The words of the *ſixth* article are, 'That the payments by the 'tenants to the *proprietaries* of their rents, ſhall 'be according to the terms of their reſpective 'grants; as if ſuch act had never been paſſed.'—This relates to that clauſe of the act by which the *paper money* was made a *legal tender* in 'diſ-'charge of *all manner* of debts, rents, ſum and 'ſums of money whatſoever, *&c.* at the rates 'aſcertained in the act of parliament made in the 'ſixth of Queen Anne.'—From the great injuſtice frequently done to creditors, and complained of from the colonies, by the vaſt depreciation of paper bills; it was become a general fixed principle with the miniſtry, that ſuch bills (whoſe value, though fixed in the act, could not be kept fixed by the act) ought *not* to be made a legal tender in any colony at thoſe rates. The parliament had before paſſed an act to take that tender away in the four New-England colonies, and have ſince made the act general. This was what their lordſhips would therefore have propoſed for the amendment.—But it being repreſented, That the chief

chief ſupport of the credit of the bills was the legal tender; and that without it they would become of no value, it was allowed generally to remain; with an exception to the *proprietaries* rents, where * there was a ſpecial contract for payment in another coin.—It cannot be denied but that *this* was doing juſtice to the proprietaries; and that, had the requiſition been in favour of *all other* creditors alſo, the juſtice had been equal, as being general. We do not therefore preſume to impeach their lordſhips judgment, that the act, as it enforced the acceptance of bills for money at a value which they had only nominally, and not really; was in that reſpect fundamentally wrong and unjuſt.—And yet we believe the *Reader* will not think the aſſembly ſo much to blame, when he conſiders that the making paper bills a legal tender had been the univerſal mode in America for more than threeſcore years; that there was ſcarce a colony that had not practiſed that mode more or leſs: That it had always been thought abſolutely neceſſary, in order to give the bills a credit, and thereby obtain from them the uſes of money: That the inconveniencies were therefore ſubmitted to, for the ſake of the greater conveniences: That acts innumerable of the like kind had been approved by the crown: And that if the aſſembly made the bills a legal tender at thoſe rates to the proprietaries; they made them alſo a legal tender to themſelves, and all their conſtituents; many of

* [Poſſibly this word *where*, means *wherever*. E.]

whom might ſuffer in their rents, *&c.* as much in proportion to their eſtates as the proprietaries. —But if he cannot on theſe conſiderations quite excuſe the aſſembly, what will he think of thoſe *honourable* proprietaries; who, when paper money was iſſued in their colony, for the *common defence* of their vaſt eſtates with thoſe of the people, and who muſt therefore reap at leaſt equal advantages from thoſe bills with the people; could nevertheleſs wiſh to be exempted from their ſhare of the unavoidable diſadvantages. Is there upon earth a man beſides, with any conception of what is honeſt, with any notion of honour, with the leaſt tincture in his veins of the Gentleman; but would have bluſhed at the thought; but would have rejected with diſdain ſuch undue preference, if it had been offered him? Much leſs would he have ſtruggled for it, moved heaven and earth to obtain it, reſolved to ruin thouſands of his tenants by a repeal of the act, rather than miſs of it *; and enforce it afterwards by an audaciouſly wicked inſtruction; forbidding aids to his king, and expoſing the province to deſtruction, unleſs it was complied with. And yet,—Theſe are HONOURABLE men †. Here

* This would have been done, and the money all ſunk in the hands of the people; if the agents, *Benjamin Franklin* and *Robert Charles*, had not interpoſed, and voluntarily, without authority from the aſſembly ſo to do, but at their own riſque; undertaken that thoſe amendments ſhould be made, or that they themſelves would indemnify the proprietaries from any damages they might ſuſtain for want thereof. An action which, as the preſacer ſays in another caſe, "poſterity perhaps may find a name for."

† It is not eaſy to gueſs from what ſource our proprietaries have drawn their principles. Thoſe who ſtudy law and juſtice as a ſcience have

Here then we have had a full view of the *Aſſembly*'s injuſtice; about which there has been ſo much inſolent triumph!—But let the proprietaries and their diſcreet deputies hereafter recollect and remember, that the ſame auguſt tribunal which cenſured ſome of the modes and circumſtances of that act, did at the ſame time eſtabliſh and confirm the grand principle of the act, viz. "That the proprietary eſtate ought, with other "eſtates, to be taxed:" And thereby did in effect determine and pronounce, that the oppoſition ſo long made in various ſhapes to that juſt principle, by the *proprietaries*, was fundamentally WRONG and UNJUST. An injuſtice they were not, like the Aſſembly, under any neceſſity of committing for the public good; or any other neceſſity, but what was impoſed on them by thoſe baſe paſſions that act the tyrant in bad minds; their ſelfiſhneſs, their pride, and their avarice.

I have frequently mentioned the *equitable intentions* of the *Houſe* in thoſe parts of the act that were ſuppoſed obſcure, and how they were underſtood here.—A clear proof thereof is found, as I have already ſaid, in the actual execution of the act: In the execution of it before the conteſt about it in England; and therefore before their Lordſhips objections to it had a being.—When the re-

have eſtabliſhed it a maxim in equity, "Qui ſentit commodum, "ſentire debet et onus." And ſo conſiſtent is this with the common ſenſe of mankind, that even our loweſt untaught coblers and porters feel the force of it in their own maxim (which *they* are honeſt enough never to diſpute) "Touch pot, touch penny."

port came over, and was laid before the Houſe, one year's tax had been levied: and the Aſſembly, conſcious that no injuſtice had been intended to the proprietaries, and willing to rectify it if any ſhould appear; appointed a *committee* of members from the ſeveral counties to examine into the ſtate of the proprietaries taxes through the province, and nominated on that committee a gentleman of known attachment to the proprietaries, and their Chief Juſtice, Mr. Allen; to the end that the ſtricteſt inquiry might be made.—*Their report* was as follows: 'We, the committee appointed 'to inquire into, and conſider the ſtate of the 'proprietary taxation through the ſeveral coun-'ties, and report the ſame to the Houſe; have, 'in purſuance of the ſaid appointment, carefully 'examined the returns of property, and com-'pared them with the reſpective aſſeſſments there-'on made through the whole province;—and 'find, *Firſt*, That no part of the *unſurveyed* waſte 'lands belonging to the proprietaries have, in any 'inſtance, been included in the eſtates taxed. '*Secondly*, That ſome of the *located uncultivated* 'lands belonging to the proprietaries in ſeveral 'counties *remain unaſſeſſed*; and are not in any 'county aſſeſſed higher, than the lands under like 'circumſtances belonging to the inhabitants. '*Thirdly*, That all *lands*, *not* granted by the pro-'prietaries, *within boroughs* and towns, remain '*untaxed*; excepting in a few inſtances, and in 'thoſe they are rated as *low*, as the lands which 'are granted in the ſaid boroughs and towns.

'The

'The whole of the *proprietary* tax of eighteen 'pence in the pound, amounts to 566*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* 'And the ſum of the tax on the *inhabitants* for the 'ſame year amounts, through the ſeveral counties, 'to 27,103*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* And it is the opinion 'of your committee that there has not been any 'injuſtice done to the proprietaries, or attempts 'made to rate or aſſeſs any part of their eſtates 'higher than the eſtates of the like kind belonging 'to the inhabitants are rated and aſſeſſed;—but 'on the contrary, we find that their eſtates are 'rated, in many inſtances, below others.

'*Thomas Leech*,	*George Aſhbridge*,
'*Joſeph Fox*,	*Emanuel Carpenter*,
'*Samuel Rhoads*,	*John Blackburn*,
'*Abraham Chapman*,	*William Allen*.'

The houſe communicated this report to governor *Hamilton*, when he afterwards preſſed them to make the ſtipulated act of amendment; acquainting him at the ſame time, that as in the execution of the act no injuſtice *had* hitherto been done to the proprietary, ſo, by a yearly inſpection of the aſſeſſments, they would take care that none *ſhould* be done him; for that if any ſhould appear, or the governor could at any time point out to them any that had been done, they would immediately rectify it; and therefore, as the act was ſhortly to expire, they did not think the amendments neceſſary.—Thus that matter ended during *that* adminiſtration.

And had his ſucceſſor, Governor *Penn*, permitted it ſtill to ſleep; we are of opinion it had

been more to the honour of the family, and of his own diſcretion. But he was pleaſed to found upon it a *claim* manifeſtly unjuſt, and which he was totally deſtitute of reaſon to ſupport. A claim, that the proprietaries beſt and moſt valuable located uncultivated lands, ſhould be taxed *no higher* than the worſt and leaſt valuable of thoſe belonging to the inhabitants: To enforce which, as he thought the words of one of the ſtipulations ſeemed to give ſome countenance to it, he inſiſted on uſing thoſe very words as ſacred; from which he could "neither in decency or in duty," deviate; though he had agreed to deviate from words [in] the ſame report, and therefore equally ſacred in every other inſtance. A conduct which will (as the preſacer ſays in Governor Denny's caſe) for ever diſgrace the annals of *his* adminiſtration *.— Never did any adminiſtration open with a more *promiſing* proſpect [than this of Governor *Penn*]. He aſſured the people, in his firſt ſpeeches, of the proprietaries paternal regard for them, and their ſincere diſpoſitions to do every thing that might promote their happineſs. As the proprietaries had been pleaſed to appoint a ſon of the family to the government, it was thought not unlikely that there might be ſomething in theſe profeſſions; for that they would probably chooſe to have his adminiſtration made eaſy and agreeable; and to that end might think it prudent to withdraw thoſe harſh, diſagreeable, and unjuſt Inſtructions with

* For a fuller account of this diſpute the reader is referred to the news papers, and votes of Aſſembly.

which

which moſt of his predeceſſors had been hampered: —The aſſembly therefore believed fully, and rejoiced ſincerely. They ſhewed the new governor every mark of reſpect and regard that was in their power. They readily and cheerfully went into every thing he recommended to them. And when he and his authority were inſulted and endangered by a lawleſs murdering mob; they and their friends took arms at his call, and formed themſelves round him for his defence, and the ſupport of his government.—But when it was found that thoſe miſchievous inſtructions ſtill ſubſiſted, and were even farther extended; when the governor began, unprovoked, to ſend the houſe affronting meſſages, ſeizing every imaginary occaſion of reflecting on their conduct; when every other ſymptom appeared of fixt deep-rooted family malice, which could but a little while bear the unnatural covering that had been thrown over it; What wonder is it if all the old wounds broke out and bled afreſh; if all the old grievances, ſtill unredreſſed, were recollected; if deſpair ſucceeded of [ſeeing] any peace with a family, that could make ſuch returns to all their overtures of kindneſs! And when in the very proprietary council, compoſed of ſtaunch friends of the family, and choſen for their attachment to it; it was obſerved; that the *old men* (1 Kings, chap. xii.) withdrew themſelves, finding their opinion ſlighted, and that all meaſures were taken by the advice of two or three *young men* (one of whom too denies his ſhare in them;) is it any wonder, ſince like cauſes produce like effects, if the

aſſembly,

aſſembly, notwithſtanding all their veneration for the firſt proprietor, ſhould ſay, with the children of Iſrael under the ſame circumſtances, "What "portion have we in DAVID, or inheritance in "the ſon of JESSE? To your tents, O Iſrael!"

Under theſe circumſtances, and a conviction that while ſo many natural ſources of difference ſubſiſted between proprietaries and people, no harmony in government could long ſubſiſt, (without which neither the commands of the crown could be executed, nor the public good promoted) the houſe reſumed the conſideration of a meaſure that had often been propoſed in former aſſemblies; a meaſure, that every *proprietary province in America* had, from the ſame cauſes, found themſelves obliged to take, and had actually taken, or were about to take; and a meaſure, that had happily ſucceeded, wherever it was taken;—I mean the recourſe to an immediate ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

They therefore, after a thorough debate; and making no leſs than twenty-five *unanimous* reſolves, expreſſing the many grievances this province had long laboured under, through the proprietary government; came to the following reſolution, *viz.* "Reſolved, nemine contradicente, That this "houſe will adjourn, in order to *conſult their* "*conſtituents*, whether an humble *addreſs* ſhould "be drawn up and tranſmitted *to his Majeſty*; "praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to "take the people of this province under his im-

"mediate

" mediate protection and government; by com-
" pleting the agreement heretofore made with
" the firſt proprietary for the ſale of the govern-
" ment to the crown, or otherwiſe as to his wiſ-
" dom and goodneſs ſhall ſeem meet *."

This they ordered to be made public; and it was publiſhed accordingly in all the news-papers: The houſe then adjourned for no leſs than *ſeven weeks*, to give their conſtituents time to conſider the matter, and themſelves an opportunity of taking their opinion and advice. Could any thing be more deliberate, more fair and open, or more reſpectful to the people that choſe them?— During this receſs, the people in many places held little meetings with each other; the reſult of which was, that they would manifeſt their ſentiments to their repreſentatives, by petitioning the crown directly of themſelves, and requeſting the aſſembly to tranſmit and ſupport thoſe petitions.— At the next meeting many of theſe petitions were delivered to the houſe with that requeſt; they were ſigned by a very great † number of the moſt ſubſtantial

* Theſe words, " by completing the agreement," *&c.* are omitted by the honeſt prefacer, in his account of the reſolve, that they might not interfere with his inſinuation of the meaſure's being impracticable, " Have the proprietors, by any act of theirs, for-
" feited the leaſt tittle of what was granted them by his Majeſty's
" royal anceſtors? Or can they be *deprived* of their charter rights
" without their conſent?" *&c.* Senſible that theſe queſtions are impertinent, if thoſe rights are already ſold.

† The prefacer, with great art, endeavours to repreſent this number as inſignificant.—He ſays the petitioners were but 3500, and that the province contains near three hundred thouſand SOULS! His reader is to imagine that TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY SIX

ſubſtantial inhabitants; and not the leaſt intimation was received by the aſſembly from any other of their conſtituents, that the method was *diſapproved*; except in a petition from an obſcure townſhip in Lancaſter county, to which there were about forty names indeed, but all evidently ſigned by three hands only.—What could the aſſembly infer from the expreſſed willingneſs of a part, and ſilence of the reſt; but that the meaſure was univerſally agreeable? They accordingly reſumed the conſideration of it; And though a ſmall, very ſmall oppoſition then appeared to it in the houſe; yet as even that was founded not on the impropriety of the thing, but on the ſuppoſed unſuitableneſs of the time or the manner, and a majority of nine tenths being ſtill for it;

SIX THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED of them were applied to, and refuſed to ſign it.—The truth is, that his number of ſouls is vaſtly exaggerated. The dwelling-houſes in the province in 1752 did not exceed 20,000. Political arithmeticians reckon generally but five ſouls to a houſe, one houſe with another: and therefore, allowing for houſes ſince built, there are not probably more than an hundred and ten thouſand ſouls in the province: That of theſe, ſcarce twenty two thouſand *could* with any propriety be petitioners.—And conſidering the ſcattered ſettlement of the province; the general inattention of mankind, eſpecially in new countries, to public affairs; and the indefatigable pains taken by the proprietaries' new allies the Preſbyterian clergy of Philadelphia, (who wrote circular letters to every congregation in the county, to deter them from petitioning, by dutiful intimations, that if we were reduced to a royal government, it would be the "ruin of the province,") it is a wonder the number (near a ſixth part) was ſo great as it was.—But if there had been no ſuch petitions, it would not have been material to the point. The *aſſembly* went upon another foundation. They had adjourned to conſult their conſtituents; they returned ſatisfied that the meaſure was agreeable to them, and *nothing appeared to the contrary*.

a petition

a petition was drawn agreeable to the former reſolve, and ordered to be tranſmitted to his Majeſty.

But the prefacer tells us, that theſe *petitioners* for a change, were a "number of raſh, ignorant, "and inconſiderate people;" and generally of a *low rank.* To be ſure they were not of the proprietary officers, dependants, or expectants; and thoſe are chiefly the people of high rank among us;—but they were otherwiſe generally men of the beſt eſtates in the province, and men of reputation. The aſſembly, who come from all parts of the country, and therefore may be ſuppoſed to know them, at leaſt as well as the prefacer; have given that teſtimony of them.—But what is the teſtimony of the aſſembly; who in his opinion are equally raſh, ignorant, and inconſiderate with the petitioners?—And if his judgment is right, how imprudently and contrary to their charter, have his THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND SOULS acted in their elections of aſſembly men theſe twenty years paſt; for the charter requires them to chooſe men of *moſt note* for *virtue*, *wiſdom*, and *ability!*

But theſe are qualities, engroſſed it ſeems by the *Proprietary* party.—For they ſay, 'the WISER 'and BETTER part of the province had far dif-'ferent notions of this meaſure: They conſidered 'that the moment they put their hands to theſe 'petitions they might be ſurrendering up their 'birthright.' I felicitate them on the *honour* they have thus beſtowed upon themſelves; on the *ſincere* compliments thus given and accepted; and on their having with ſuch noble freedom diſcarded the

the ſnivelling pretence to modeſty, couched in that thread-bare form of words, " Though we ſay it, " that ſhould not ſay it."—But is it not ſurpriſing that, during the ſeven weeks receſs of the aſſembly, expreſsly to conſult their conſtituents on the expediency of this meaſure; and during the fourteen days the Houſe ſat deliberating on it after they met again; theſe their wiſdoms and betterneſſes ſhould never be ſo kind as to communicate the leaſt ſcrap of their prudence, their knowledge, or their conſideration, to their raſh, ignorant, and inconſiderate repreſentatives?—Wiſdom in the mind is not like money in the purſe, diminiſhed by communication to others: They might have lighted up our farthing candles for us, without leſſening the blaze of their own flambeaux. But they ſuffered our repreſentatives to go on in the dark till the fatal deed was done; and the petition ſent to the King, praying him to take the government of this province into his immediate care: Whereby, if it ſucceeds, 'our glorious plan of public liberty 'and charter of privileges is to be bartered away,' and we are to be made ſlaves for ever! Cruel parſimony! to refuſe the charity of a little underſtanding; when God had given you ſo much, and the Aſſembly begged it as an alms! O that you had but for once remembered and obſerved the counſel of that wiſe poet Pope, where he ſays,

" Be Niggards of Advice on no pretence;
" For the worſt Avarice is that of Senſe."

In

In the conſtitution of our government and in that of one more, there ſtill remains a particular thing that none of the other American governments have; to wit, the appointment of a Governor by the *Proprietors*, inſtead of an appointment by the *Crown*.—This particular in government has been found inconvenient; attended with contentions and confuſions wherever it exiſted; and has therefore been gradually taken away from colony after colony, and every where greatly to the ſatisfaction and happineſs of the people.—Our wiſe firſt Proprietor and Founder was fully ſenſible of this; and being deſirous of leaving his people happy, and preventing the miſchiefs that he foreſaw muſt in time ariſe from that circumſtance if it was continued; he determined to take it away, if poſſible, during his own lifetime. They accordingly entered into a contract for the ſale of the proprietary right of government to the crown; and actually received a ſum in part of the conſideration. As he found himſelf likely to die before that contract (and with it, his plan for the happineſs of his people) could be completed; he carefully made it a part of his laſt will and teſtament; deviſing the right of the government to two noble lords, in truſt, that they ſhould releaſe it to the crown.—Unfortunately for us, this has never yet been done. And this is merely what the aſſembly now deſire to have done.—Surely he that formed our conſtitution, muſt have underſtood it. If he had imagined that all our privileges depended on the proprietary government; will any one ſuppoſe

that he would himſelf have meditated the change; that he would have taken ſuch effectual meaſures as he thought them, to bring it about ſpeedily, whether he ſhould live or die? Will any of thoſe who now extol him ſo highly, charge him at the ſame time with the baſeneſs of endeavouring thus to defraud his people of all the liberties and privileges he had promiſed them, and by the moſt ſolemn charters and grants aſſured to them, when he engaged them to aſſiſt him in the ſettlement of his province? Surely none can be ſo inconſiſtent! —And yet this proprietary right of governing or appointing a governor has all of a ſudden changed its nature; and the preſervation of it become of ſo much importance to the welfare of the province; that the aſſembly's only petitioning to have their venerable founder's will executed, and the contract he entered into for the good of his people completed, is ſtiled, an 'attempt to violate the 'conſtitution for which our fathers planted a wil-'derneſs; to barter away our glorious plan of 'public liberty and charter privileges; a riſquing 'of the whole conſtitution; an offering up our 'whole charter rights; a wanton ſporting with 'things ſacred,' *&c.*

Pleaſant ſurely it is to hear the proprietary partizans, of all men, bawling for the conſtitution; and affecting a terrible concern for our liberties and privileges. They, who have been theſe twenty years curſing our conſtitution, declaring that it was no conſtitution, or worſe than none; and that things could never be well with us till it was

new modelled, and made exactly conformable to the Britiſh conſtitution: They who have treated our diſtinguiſhing privileges as ſo many illegalities and abſurdities; who have ſolemnly declared in print, that though ſuch privileges might be proper in the infancy of a colony to encourage its ſettlement, they became unfit for it in its grown ſtate, and ought to be taken away: They who by numberleſs falſhoods, propagated with infinite induſtry in the mother country, attempted to procure an act of parliament for the actual depriving a very great part of the people of their privileges: They too who have already deprived the whole people of ſome of their moſt important rights, and are daily endeavouring to deprive them of the reſt: Are theſe, become patriots and advocates for our conſtitution?—Wonderful change! Aſtoniſhing converſion!—Will the wolves then protect the ſheep, if they can but perſuade them to give up their dogs? Yes; the aſſembly would deſtroy all their own rights, and thoſe of the people; and the proprietary partizans are become the champions for liberty!—Let thoſe who have faith now make uſe of it: For if it is rightly defined, the evidence of things not ſeen; certainly never was there more occaſion for ſuch evidence, the caſe being totally deſtitute of all other.—

It has been long obſerved, that men are with that party, angels or demons, juſt as they happen to concur with or oppoſe their meaſures. And I mention it for the comfort of *old ſinners*, that

in politics, as well as in religion; repentance and amendment, though late, ſhall obtain forgiveneſs, and procure favour.—Witneſs the late ſpeaker, Mr. Norris; a ſteady and conſtant oppoſer of all the proprietary encroachments; and whom, for thirty years paſt, they have been therefore continually abuſing, allowing him no one virtue or good quality whatſoever: But now, as he ſhewed ſome unwillingneſs to engage in this preſent application to the crown, he is become all at once the "faithful ſervant;"—but let me look at the text, to avoid miſtakes—and indeed I was miſtaken—I thought it had been "faithful "ſervant of the public;" but I find it is only—"of the houſe." Well choſen, that expreſſion, and prudently guarded. The former, from a proprietary pen, would have been praiſe too much; only for diſapproving the *time* of the application. —Could *you*, much reſpected [Mr. Norris,] go but a little farther, and diſapprove the application itſelf; could you, but ſay the proprietary government is a good one, and ought to be continued; then might all your political offences be done away, and your ſcarlet ſins become as ſnow and wool; then might you end your courſe with (proprietary) honour. P— ſhould preach your funeral ſermon; and S—, the poiſoner of other characters, embalm your memory. But thoſe honours you will never receive; for with returning health and ſtrength, you will be found in your old poſt, firm for your country.

There

There is encouragement too for *young ſinners.* Mr. Dickenſon, whoſe ſpeech our prefacer has introduced to the world, (though long hated by ſome, and diſregarded by the reſt of the proprietary faction,) is at once, for the ſame reaſon as in Mr. Norris's caſe; become a ſage in the law; and an oracle in matters relating to our conſtitution.—I ſhall not endeavour to pluck ſo much as a leaf from theſe the young gentleman's laurels. I would only adviſe him carefully to preſerve the panegyricks with which they have adorned him: In time they may ſerve to conſole him, by balancing the calumny they ſhall load him with, when he does not go through with them in all their meaſures: He will not probably do the one, and they will then aſſuredly do the other.—There are mouths that can blow hot as well as cold, and blaſt on your brows the bays their hands have placed there. "Experto crede Roberto." Let but the moon of *proprietary* favour withdraw its ſhine for a moment; and that "great number of the *prin-* "*cipal Gentlemen* of Philadelphia," who applied to you for the copy of your ſpeech; ſhall immediately deſpiſe and deſert you.—

"Thoſe principal Gentlemen!" What a pity it is that their names were not given us in the preface, together with their admirable letter! We ſhould then have known where to run for advice on all occaſions. We ſhould have known who to chooſe for our future repreſentatives: For undoubtedly theſe were they, that are elſewhere called "the "WISER and BETTER part of the province."—

None but Wiſdoms could have known beforehand that a ſpeech which they never heard, and a copy of which they had never ſeen, but were then requeſting to ſee; was "a ſpirited defence," and 'of our charter privileges;' and that 'the publi-'cation of it would be of great utility, and give 'general ſatisfaction.'—No inferior ſagacity could diſcover, that the appointment of a governor by the proprietor, was one of our "charter privi-"leges;" and that thoſe who oppoſed the application for a royal government, were therefore patriot members appearing on the ſide of our privileges and our charter!

Utterly to *confound the aſſembly*, and ſhew the excellence of proprietary government; the prefacer has extracted from their own votes, the *praiſes* they have from time to time beſtowed on the *firſt* proprietor, in their addreſſes to his ſons. And though addreſſes are not generally the beſt repoſitories of hiſtorical truth, we muſt not in this inſtance deny their authority.

What then avails it to the honour of the preſent proprietors, that our founder and their father, gave us privileges; if they, the ſons, will not permit the uſe of them, or forcibly rend them from us?—David may have been a man after God's own heart, and Solomon the wiſeſt of proprietors and governors; but if Rehoboam will be a tyrant and a ——, who can ſecure him the affections of the people!—The virtue and merit of his anceſtors may be very great; but his preſumption

ſumption in depending upon thoſe alone may be much greater.—

I lamented, a few pages ago, that we were not acquainted with the names of thoſe " principal " Gentlemen the wiſer and better part of the pro- " vince." I now rejoice that we are likely ſome time or other to know them;—for a copy of a PETITION TO THE KING is now before me; which from its ſimilarity with their *letter*, muſt be of their inditing, and will probably be recommended to the people, by their leading up the ſigning.

On this petition I ſhall take the liberty of making a few REMARKS, as they will ſave me the neceſſity of following farther the preface; the ſentiments of this and that being nearly the ſame.

It begins with a formal quotation from the [aſſembly's] petition, which they own they have not ſeen, and of words that are not in it; and after relating very imperfectly and unfairly the fact relating to their application for a copy of it, which is of no importance; proceeds to ſet forth, 'That 'as we and all your American ſubjects muſt be 'governed by perſons authorized and approved 'by your Majeſty, on the beſt recommendation 'that can be obtained of them; we cannot per- 'ceive our condition in this reſpect to be *different* 'from our fellow-ſubjects around us, or that we 'are thereby leſs under your Majeſty's particular 'care and protection than they are; ſince there 'can be no *governors* of this province without

'your Majeſty's *immediate approbation* and autho-
'rity.'—Such a declaration from the wiſer part of the province is really a little ſurpriſing. What! when diſputes concerning matters of property are daily ariſing between you and your proprietaries, cannot your wiſdoms perceive the leaſt difference between having the judges of thoſe diſputes appointed by a *royal* governor, who has no intereſt in the cauſe; and having them appointed by the *proprietaries* themſelves, the principal parties againſt you; and *during their pleaſure* too? when ſupplies are neceſſary to be raiſed for your defence, can you perceive no difference between having a royal governor, free to promote his Majeſty's ſervice by a ready aſſent to your laws; and a proprietary governor, ſhackled by inſtructions, forbidding him to give that aſſent; unleſs ſome private advantage is obtained, ſome profit got, or unequal exemption gained for their eſtate, or ſome privilege wreſted from you? When prerogative, that in other governments is only uſed for the good of the people; is here ſtrained to the extreme, and uſed to their prejudice, and the proprietaries benefit; can you perceive no difference? When the direct and immediate rays of majeſty benignly and mildly ſhine on all *around* us, but are tranſmitted and thrown upon *us*, through the burning-glaſs of proprietary government; can your ſenſibilities feel no difference? Sheltered perhaps in proprietary offices, or benumbed with expectations, it may be you cannot.—But ſurely you might have known better than to tell his Majeſty, 'that

'there

'there can be no governors of this province, with-
'out his immediate approbation.' Don't you know, who know ſo much, that by our bleſſed conſtitution the *proprietors* themſelves, whenever they pleaſe, may govern us in *perſon*; without ſuch approbation?

The petition proceeds to tell his Majeſty, 'that
'the particular mode of government which we
'enjoy, under your Majeſty, is held in the *higheſt*
'*eſtimation* by good men of all denominations
'among us; and hath *brought multitudes* of
'induſtrious people from various parts of the
'world,' *&c.*—Really! Can this be from proprietary partizans? That conſtitution which they were for ever cenſuring, as defective in a legiſlative council, defective in government powers, too popular in many of its modes; is it now become ſo excellent?—Perhaps, as they have been tinkering it theſe twenty years, till they have ſtripped it of ſome of its moſt valuable privileges, and almoſt ſpoiled it; they now begin to like it. But then it is not ſurely this *preſent* conſtitution, that brought hither thoſe multitudes. They came before.—At leaſt it was not that particular in our conſtitution, (the proprietary power of appointing a governor) which attracted them; that ſingle particular, which alone is now in queſtion; which our venerable founder firſt, and now the aſſembly, are endeavouring to change.—As to the remaining valuable part of our conſtitution, the aſſembly have been equally full and ſtrong in expreſſing their regard for it, and perhaps ſtronger and fuller;

for *their* petition in that reſpect, is in the nature of a petition of right; it lays claim, though modeſtly and humbly, to thoſe privileges on the foundation of royal grants, on laws confirmed by the crown, and on juſtice and equity; as the grants were the conſideration offered to induce them to ſettle; and which they have in a manner purchaſed and paid for, by executing that ſettlement without putting the crown to any expence.—Whoever would know what our conſtitution was, when it was ſo much admired, let him peruſe that elegant farewel ſpeech of Mr. Hamilton, father of our late governor; when, as ſpeaker, he took his leave of the houſe, and of public buſineſs, in 1739; and then let him compare that conſtitution with the preſent. The power of *appointing public officers* by the repreſentatives of the people, which he ſo much extols; where is it now? Even the bare naming to the governor in a bill, a trivial officer to receive a light-houſe duty, (which could be conſidered as no more than a mere recommendation) is, in a late meſſage, ſtiled, 'an 'encroachment on the prerogative of the crown!' The ſole power of *raiſing and diſpoſing of public money*, which he ſays was then lodged in the aſſembly; that ineſtimable privilege, what is become of it? Inch by inch they have been wreſted from us in times of public diſtreſs; And the reſt are going the ſame way.—I remember to have ſeen when Governor Hamilton was engaged in a diſpute with the aſſembly on ſome of thoſe points, a copy of that ſpeech, which then was intended to be re-

printed;

printed; with a dedication to that honourable Gentleman; and this motto from John Rogers's verſes in the Primer:

We ſend you here a little book,
For you to look upon;
That you may ſee your father's face,
Now he is dead and gone.

Many a ſuch little book has been ſent by our aſſemblies to the preſent proprietaries: — But they do not like to ſee their father's face; it puts their own out of countenance.

The petition proceeds to ſay, 'That ſuch *diſ-agreements* as have ariſen in this province, we 'have beheld with ſorrow; but as *others* around 'us are not exempted from the *like misfortunes*, 'we can by no means conceive them incident to 'the nature of our government, which hath *often* 'been adminiſtered with remarkable harmony: 'And your Majeſty, before whom our late diſ-'putes have been laid, can be at no loſs, in your 'great wiſdom to diſcover whether they proceed 'from the above cauſe, or ſhould be aſcribed to 'ſome others."—The diſagreements in queſtion, are proprietary diſagreements in government, relating to proprietary private intereſts. And are not the *royal* governments around us exempt from *theſe* misfortunes? Can you really, Gentlemen, by no means conceive, that proprietary government diſagreements are incident to the nature of proprietary governments? Can they in nature be incident to any other governments? If your wiſdoms are ſo hard to conceive, I am afraid they

they will never bring forth.—But then our government " hath *often* been adminiſtered with re- " markable harmony." Very true; as often as the aſſembly have been able and willing to purchaſe that harmony, and pay for it; the mode of which has already been ſhewn. And yet that word *often* ſeems a little unluckily choſen: The flame that is often put out, muſt be as often lit. If our government hath often been adminiſtered with remarkable harmony, it hath as often been adminiſtered with remarkable diſcord: One often is as numerous as the other.—And his Majeſty, if he ſhould take the trouble of looking over our diſputes (to which the petitioners, to ſave themſelves a little pains, modeſtly and decently refer him) where will he, for twenty years paſt, find any but *proprietary* diſputes concerning proprietary intereſts; or diſputes that have been connected with and aroſe from them?

The petition proceeds to aſſure his Majeſty, ' That this province (except from the Indian ra- ' vages) enjoys the *moſt perfect internal tranquil- ' lity!*'—Amazing! What! the moſt perfect tranquillity! when there have been three atrocious riots within a few months! When in two of them, horrid murders were committed on twenty innocent perſons; and in the third, no leſs than one hundred and forty like murders were meditated, and declared to be intended, with as many more as ſhould be occaſioned by any oppoſition! When we know that theſe rioters and murderers have none of them been puniſhed, have never been pro-

proſecuted, have not ever been apprehended! when we are frequently told, that they intend ſtill to execute their purpoſes as ſoon as the protection of the king's forces is withdrawn!—Is our tranquillity more perfect now, than it was between the firſt riot and the ſecond, or between the ſecond and the third?—And why 'except the *Indian* ra-'vages;' if a *little intermiſſion* is to be denominated 'the moſt perfect tranquillity?' For the Indians too have been quiet lately. Almoſt as well might ſhips in an engagement talk of the moſt perfect tranquillity between two broadſides. —But 'a ſpirit of riot and violence is foreign to 'the general temper of the inhabitants.' I hope and believe it is; the aſſembly have ſaid nothing to the contrary.—And yet is there not too much of it? Are there not pamphlets continually written, and daily ſold in our ſtreets, to juſtify and encourage it? are not the mad armed mob in thoſe writings inſtigated to embrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens; by firſt applauding their murder of the Indians; and then repreſenting the aſſembly and their friends as worſe than Indians, as having privately ſtirred up the Indians to murder the white people, and armed and rewarded them for that purpoſe? LIES, Gentlemen, villanous as ever the malice of hell invented; and which, to do you juſtice, not one of you believes, though you would have the mob believe them.

But your petition proceeds to ſay, 'That where 'ſuch diſturbances have happened, they have

' been *ſpeedily quieted.*'—By whom were they quieted? the *two firſt*, if they can be ſaid to be quieted, were quieted only by the rioters themſelves going home quietly (that is, without any interruption;) and remaining there till their next inſurrection; without any purſuit, or attempt to apprehend any of them. And the *third*, was it quieted, or was the miſchief they intended prevented, or could it have been prevented; without the aid of the king's troops, marched into the province for that purpoſe?—" The civil powers " have been ſupported," in ſome ſort. We all know how they were ſupported; but have they been *fully* ſupported? Has the government ſufficient ſtrength, even with all its ſupports, to venture on the apprehending and puniſhment of thoſe notorious offenders? If it has not, why are you angry at thoſe who would ſtrengthen its hands by a more immediate royal authority? if it has, why is not the thing done? Why will the government, by its conduct, ſtrengthen the ſuſpicions (groundleſs no doubt) that it has come to a private underſtanding with thoſe murderers, and that impunity for their paſt crimes is to be the reward of their future political ſervices?—O! but ſays the petition, " There are perhaps " caſes in all governments where it may *not be* " *poſſible ſpeedily to diſcover offenders.*" Probably; but is there any caſe in any government where it is not poſſible to *endeavour* ſuch a diſcovery? There may be caſes where it is not ſafe to do it: And perhaps the beſt thing our go-

vernment can ſay for itſelf is, that that is our caſe. —The only objection to ſuch an apology muſt be, that it would juſtify that part of the aſſembly's petition to the crown which relates to the *weakneſs* of our preſent government *.

Still, if there is any *fault*, it muſt be *in the aſſembly*; For, ſays the petition, 'if the executive 'part of our government ſhould ſeem in any 'caſe too weak, we conceive it is the duty of the 'aſſembly, and in *their* power to ſtrengthen it.' —This weakneſs, however, you have juſt denied. 'Diſturbances you ſay *have* been ſpeedily quieted, 'and the civil power ſupported;' And thereby you have deprived your inſinuated charge againſt the aſſembly of its only ſupport.—But is it not a fact known to you all, that the aſſembly *did* endeavour to ſtrengthen the hands of the government? That at his honour's inſtance they prepared and paſſed in a few hours a bill for extending hither the act of parliament for diſperſing rioters? That they alſo paſſed and preſented to him a militia bill †; which he refuſed, unleſs powers were thereby given him over the lives and properties of the inhabitants, which the public good did not require; and which their duty to

* The aſſembly being called upon by the governor for their advice on that occaſion, did, in a meſſage, adviſe his ſending for and examining the magiſtrates of Lancaſter county and borough, where the murders were committed, in order to diſcover the actors; but neither that, nor any of the other meaſures recommended, were ever taken.--Proclamations indeed were publiſhed, but ſoon diſcontinued.

† [Is not this the militia bill canvaſſed above p. 396? E.]

their

their conſtituents would not permit them to truſt in the hands of any proprietary governor?—You know the points, Gentlemen: They have been made public. Would you have had your repreſentatives give up thoſe points? Do *you* intend to give them up, when at the next election *you* are made aſſemblymen? If ſo, tell it us honeſtly beforehand; that we may know what we are to expect when we are about to chooſe you?

I come now to the laſt clauſe of your petition, where, with the ſame wonderful ſagacity with which you in another caſe diſcovered the excellency of a ſpeech you never heard, you undertake to *characteriſe a petition* [*from the* Aſſembly] *you own you never ſaw*;—and venture to aſſure his Majeſty, that it is 'exceeding grievous in its na-'ture; that it by no means contains a proper re-'preſentation of the ſtate of this province; and 'is repugnant to the general ſenſe of his numerous 'and loyal ſubjects in it.' Are then his Majeſty's 'numerous and loyal ſubjects' in this province all as great wizards as yourſelves; and capable of knowing, without ſeeing it, that a petition is repugnant to their general ſenſe?—But the Inconſiſtence of your petition, Gentlemen, is not ſo much to be wondered at;—The *prayer* of it is *ſtill more* extraordinary, "We therefore moſt hum-"bly pray, that your Majeſty would be graciouſly "pleaſed *wholly to diſregard* the ſaid petition of the "aſſembly." What! without enquiry! without examination! without a hearing of what the aſſembly might ſay in ſupport of it! "wholly "diſregard".

" diſregard" the petition of your repreſentatives in aſſembly; accompanied by other petitions ſigned by thouſands of your fellow-ſubjects, as loyal, if not as wiſe and as good as yourſelves! Would you wiſh to ſee your great and amiable prince act a part that could not become a Dey of Algiers? Do you, who are Americans, pray for a *precedent* of ſuch contempt in the treatment of an American aſſembly! Such " total diſregard" of their humble applications to the throne?—Surely your wiſdoms here have overſhot yourſelves.—But as wiſdom ſhews itſelf not only in doing what is right, but in confeſſing and *amending* what is wrong, I recommend the latter particularly to your preſent attention; being perſuaded of this conſequence; that though you have been mad enough to ſign ſuch a petition, you never will be fools enough to preſent it.

There is one thing mentioned in the preface, which I find I omitted to take notice of as I came along, [viz.] *the refuſal of the houſe to enter Mr. Dickinſon's proteſt* on their minutes: This is mentioned in ſuch a manner there and in the newspapers, as to inſinuate a charge of ſome partiality and injuſtice in the aſſembly.—But the *reaſons* were merely theſe; that though proteſting may be a practice with the Lords of parliament, there is no inſtance of it in the houſe of commons, whoſe proceedings are the model followed by the aſſemblies of America; That there is no precedent of it on our votes, from the beginning of our preſent

ſent conſtitution; And that the introducing ſuch a practice would be attended with inconveniences, as the repreſentatives in aſſembly are not, like the Lords in parliament, unaccountable to any conſtituents; and would therefore find it neceſſary for their own juſtification, if the reaſons of the minority for being againſt a meaſure were admitted in the votes, to put there likewiſe the reaſons that induced the majority to be for it: Whereby the votes, which were intended only as a regiſter of propoſitions and determinations, would be filled with the diſputes of members with members; and the public buſineſs be thereby greatly retarded, if ever brought to a period.

As that Proteſt was a mere abſtract of Mr. DICKINSON'S ſpeech, every particular of it will be found anſwered in the following ſpeech of *Mr. Galloway*; from which it is fit that I ſhould no longer detain the reader *.

* [Mr. Galloway's ſpeech is of courſe here omitted.—In the Penſylvania edition of the Preface, an epitaph followed here. E.]

V. PAPERS

V.

PAPERS

ON

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

N. B. *All the Papers under this diviſion are diſtinguiſhed by the letters* [M. P.] *placed in the running title at the head of each leaf.*

[*A Scheme for a* new Alphabet *and reformed mode of Spelling; with* Remarks *and* Examples *concerning the ſame; and an* Enquiry into its Uſes, *in a Correſpondence between Miſs S——n and Dr. Franklin, written in the Characters of the Alphabet* *.]

* [I think it proper to mention that *Miſs S—n*, is the lady that appears ſo conſpicuouſly in the edition of Dr. Franklin's philoſophical papers: and that if I am not miſtaken, the name of a *Sir Thomas Smith* is referred to, in one of the copies which I have ſeen of this paper.

For the nature and intention of this alphabet, &c. I muſt refer to what Dr. Franklin has himſelf ſaid upon the ſubject, in anſwer to Miſs S—n's objections; as the reader may underſtand the whole in an hour or two.—It is neceſſary to add, that the new letters uſed in the courſe of printing this paper, are exactly copied from the *manuſcript* in my poſſeſſion; there being no proviſion for a diſtinction in the character as *written* or *printed*. I have no other way therefore of marking the ſcored parts of the manuſcript (anſwering to *italics*,) than by placing ſuch paſſages between inverted commas. —As to *capitals*, I ſhould have provided for them by means of larger types, but the form of ſome of them would have made them too large for the page: however, were the author's general ſyſtem ever adopted, nothing would be eaſier than to remedy this particular.

I hope I ſhall be forgiven for obſerving, that even our *preſent* printed and written characters are fundamentally the ſame. The [Roman] *printed* one is certainly the neateſt, ſimpleſt, and moſt legible of the two; but for the ſake of eaſe and rapidity in our *writing*, it ſeems we there inſert a number of joining or terminating ſtrokes, ſubſtitute curves for angles, and give the letters a ſmall inclination, to which rules even the letters *a*, *g*, *r* and *w*, are eaſily reconcileable. — This will ceaſe to appear a remark of mere curioſity, if applied to the decyphering of foreign correſpondence. But for this purpoſe I would add, that the *French* in particular, ſeem to treat the ſmall up-ſtroke in the letters *h*, *p*, &c. as proceeding originally in an angle from the *bottom* of the down-ſtroke: they therefore begin it with a curve from the bottom, and keep it all the way diſtinct; hence forming their written *r* much like our written *v*. This laſt letter *v*, they again diſtinguiſh by a loop at the bottom; which loop they often place where we place an outward curve. The remarkable terminating *s* which they ſometimes uſe, ſeems intended for our printed *s* begun from the bottom, but from corrupt writing inverted and put horizontally, inſtead of vertically. It is rather from bad writing than ſyſtem, that their *n* and *m* appear like *u* and *w*.—I could go on to ſpeak of the formation of written and printed *capitals*, but as this would be a work of mere curioſity, I leave it for the reader's amuſement. E.]

REMARKS [*on the Alphabetical Table*].

o *to* *ɣ* huh — It is endeavoured to give the Alphabet a *more natural Order*; Beginning firſt with the ſimple Sounds formed by the Breath, with none or very little help of Tongue, Teeth, and Lips; and produced chiefly in the Windpipe.

g k — Then coming forward to thoſe, formed by the Roof of the Tongue next to the Windpipe.

r n *t d* — Then to thoſe, formed more forward, by the forepart of the Tongue againſt the Roof of the Mouth.

l *s z* — Then thoſe, formed ſtill more forward in the Mouth, by the Tip of the Tongue applied firſt to the Roots of the upper Teeth.

ɳ th *ɲ* dh — Then to thoſe, formed by the Tip of the Tongue applied to the Ends or Edges of the upper Teeth.

f *v* — Then to thoſe, formed ſtill more forward by the under Lip applied to the upper Teeth.

b *p* — Then to thoſe, formed yet more forward by the upper and under Lip opening to let out the ſounding Breath.

m — And laſtly, ending with the ſhutting up of the Mouth, or cloſing the Lips while any Vowel is ſounding.

In this Alphabet *c* is *omitted* as unneceſſary; *k* ſupplying its hard Sound, and *s* the ſoft.—The jod *j* is alſo omitted, its Sound being ſupplied by the new Letter *ſh*, *iſh*, which ſerves other purpoſes, aſſiſting in the formation of other ſounds;—thus the *ſh* with a *d* before it, gives the ſound of the jod *j* and ſoft *g*, as in "James, January, "giant, gentle," "*dſheems*, *dſhanueri*, *dſhiant*, "*dſhentel*;" with a *t* before it, it gives the Sound of *ch*, as in "Cherry, Chip," "*tſheri*, *tſhip*;" and with an *z* before it the French ſound of the jod *j*, as in "jamais," "*zſhame.*"

Thus the *g* has no longer *two different* Sounds, which occaſioned Confuſion; but is, as every Letter ought to be, confined to one;—The ſame is to be obſerved in *all* the Letters, Vowels, and Conſonants, that wherever they are met with, or in whatever Company, their Sound is always the ſame.—It is alſo intended that there be *no ſuperfluous* Letters uſed in ſpelling; i. e. no Letter that is not ſounded;—And this Alphabet, by ſix new Letters, provides that there be no diſtinct Sounds in the Language *without Letters* to expreſs them. As to the difference between *ſhort and long Vowels*, it is naturally expreſſed by a ſingle Vowel where ſhort, a double one where long; as for "mend" write "mend," but for "remain'd" write

" remeen'd;" for " did" write " did," but for " deed" write " diid," ‡ &c.

What in our common Alphabet is ſuppoſed the third Vowel, *i*, as we ſound it, is as a *Diphthong*; conſiſting of two of our Vowels joined; [viz.] *y* as ſounded in " into," and *i* in its true Sound: Any one will be ſenſible of this, who ſounds thoſe two Vowels *y i* quick after each other; the Sound begins *y* and ends *ii*. The true Sound of the *i* is that we now give to *e* in the words " deed, " keep,"——*.

‡ [Though a ſingle vowel appears to be put in the Table for *did* and *deed* equally, yet in the Remarks [ABOVE] the latter is made to require two *i* s. Perhaps the ſame doubling of the vowel is meant for *name* and *lane*; for certainly *name* is not pronounced as *nem*, in the expreſſion *nem. con.* correſponding to the ſound in *men*.—Some critics may probably think that theſe two ſets of ſounds are ſo diſtinct as to require different characters to expreſs them: ſince in *mem*, pronounced affectedly for *ma'am (madam)* and correſponding in ſound to *men*, the lips are kept cloſe to the teeth, and perpendicular to each other; but in *maim*, correſponding in ſound to *name*, the lips are placed poutingly and flat towards each other: A remark that might be applied with little variation to *did* and *deed* compared.—As this is a ſubject I have never much examined, it becomes me only to add, that ſpelling may be conſidered as " an analyſis of the operations of " the organs of ſpeech, where each ſeparate letter has to repreſent a " different movement;" and that among theſe organs of ſpeech, we are to enumerate the epiglottis; and perhaps even the lungs themſelves, not merely as furniſhing air for ſound, but as modifying the ſound of that air both in *inhaling* and expelling it. E.]

* [The copy from which this is printed, ends in the ſame abrupt way with the above, followed by a conſiderable blank ſpace; ſo that more perhaps was intended to be added by our author. E.]

TABLE

[TABLE of the REFORMED ALPHABET.]

To face p. 470.

Characters.	*Sounded* [respectively] as in [the Words in the Column below.]
o	Old.
* *a*	John, Folly; Awl, Ball.
a	Man, can.
e	Men, lend, Name, Lane.
i	Did, Sin, Deed, ſeen.
u	Tool, Fool, Rule.
* *ɥ*	um, un; as in umbrage, unto, &c. and as in *er*.
h	hunter, happy, high.
g	give, gather.
k	keep, kick.
* *ſi*	(ſh) Ship, wiſh.
* *ŋ*	(ng) ing, repeating, among.
n	end.
r	Art.
t	Teeth.
d	Deed.
l	ell, tell.
ſ	Eſſence.
z	(ez) Wages.
* *ɳ*	(th) think.
* *ɳ*	(dh) thy.
f	Effect.
v	ever.
b	Bees.
p	peep.
m	ember.

Names of Letters as expreſſed in the reformed Sounds and Characters.	[*Manner of pronouncing* the Sounds.]
o	The firſt VOWEL naturally, and deepeſt ſound; requires only to open the mouth, and breathe through it.
a	The next requiring the mouth opened a little, or hollower.
a	The next, a little more.
e	The next requires the *Tongue* to be a little more elevated.
i	The next ſtill more.
u	The next requires the *Lips* to be gathered up, leaving a ſmall opening.
ɥ	The next a very ſhort Vowel, the Sound of which we ſhould expreſs in our preſent Letters thus, *uh*; a ſhort, and not very ſtrong *Aſpiration*.
huh	A ſtronger or more forcible aſpiration.
gi	The firſt CONSONANT; being formed by the *Root of the Tongue*; this is the preſent hard *g*.
ki	A kindred ſound; a little more acute; to be uſed inſtead of the hard *c*.
iſh	A new letter, wanted in our language; our *ſh*, ſeparately taken, not being proper elements of the ſound.
ing	A new letter, wanted for the ſame reaſon;---Theſe are formed *back in the mouth*.
en	Formed *more forward* in the mouth; the *Tip of the Tongue* to the *Roof* of the mouth.
r	The ſame; the tip of the tongue a little looſe or ſeparate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating.
ti	The tip of the tongue more forward; touching, and then leaving, the roof.
di	The ſame; touching a little fuller.
el	The ſame; touching juſt about the *gums* of the *upper teeth*.
es	This ſound is formed, by the breath paſſing *between* the moiſt end of the *tongue* and the *upper teeth*.
ez	The ſame; a little denſer and duller.
eɳ	The tongue under, and a little *behind*, the upper teeth; touching them, but ſo as to let the breath paſs between.
eð	The ſame; a little fuller.
ef	Formed by the *lower lip* againſt the upper teeth.
ev	The ſame; fuller and duller.
b	The *lips full together*, and *opened* as the air paſſes out.
pi	The ſame; but a thinner ſound.
em	The *cloſing* of the lips, while the *e* [here annexed] is ſounding.

* [*N. B.* The ſix new letters are marked with an aſteriſk * to diſtinguiſh them, and ſhew how few new ſounds are propoſed. E.]

Examples [of writing in this Character.]

So huen ſym Endfiel, byi divyin kamand,
Uiȳ ryiziȳ tempeſts fieeks e gilti Land;
(Syth az av leet or peel Britania paſt,)
Kalm and ſiriin hi dryivs ȳi feuriys blaſt;
And, pliiz'd ȳ' almyitis ardyrs tu pyrfarm,
Ryids in ȳi Huyrluind and dyirekts ȳi Starm.

So ȳi piur limpid ſtriim, huen faul uiȳ ſteens
av ryfiiȳ Tarents and diſendiȳ Reens,
Uyrks itſelf kliir; and az it ryns rifyins;
Til byi digriis, ȳe flotiȳ miryr fiyins,
Riflekts iitfi flaur ȳat an its bardyr groz,
And e nu hev'n in its feer Byzym fioz.

Kenſiŋtyn, Septembyr 26, 1768.

Diir Syr,

ɣi hav tranſkryib'd iur alfabet, &c. huitſi ɣi ɣink myit bi av ſyrvis tu ɣoz, hu uiſi ta akuyir an akiuret pronynſieſiyn, if ɣat kuld bi fixs'd; byt ɣi ſi meni inkanviinienſis, az uel az difikyltis, ɣat uuld atend ɣi briŋiŋ iur letyrs and arɣagrafi intu kamyn ius. aal aur etimalodſiiz uuld be laſt, kanſikuentli ui kuld nat aſyrteen ɣi miiniŋ av meni uyrds; ɣi diſtinkſiyn, tu, bituiin uyrds av difyrent miiniŋ and ſimilar ſaund uuld bi iuſles, ynles ui liviŋ ryiters pybliſi nu iidifiyns. In fiart ɣi biliiv ui myſt let piipil ſpel an in ɣeer old ue, and (az ui fyind it iiſieſt) du ɣi ſeem aurſelves.—With eaſe and with ſincerity I can, in the old way, ſubſcribe myſelf, Dear Sir,

Your faithful and affectionate Servant,

M. S.

Dr. Franklin.

[Anſwer to Miſs S****.]

Diir Madam,

ȝi abdſiekſiyn iu meek to rektifyiiȝ aur alfabet, "*ȝat it uil bi atended uiȝ inkanvi-* "*nienſiz and difikyltiz,*" *iz e natural uyn; far it aluaz akyrz huen eni refarmeſiyn iz propozed; hueȝyr in rilidſiyn, gyvernment, laz, and iven daun az lo az rods and buil karidſiiz.—ȝi tru kueſtſiyn ȝen, is nat hueȝyr ȝaer uil bi no difikyltiz ar inkanvinienſiz; byt hueȝer ȝi difikyltiz mê nat bi ſyrmaunted; and hueȝyr ȝi kanvinienſiz uil nat, an ȝi huol, bi grêtyr ȝan ȝi inkanvinienſiz. In ȝis kes, ȝi difikyltiz er onli in ȝi biginiȝ av ȝi praktis: huen ȝê er uyns ovyrkym, ȝi advantedſiez*

er

er laſtiŋ.—To ɥiŋɥr iu ar mi, hu ſpel uel in ŋi prezent mod, ɥi imadfiin ŋi difikylti av tfiendfiiŋ ŋat mod far ŋi nu, iz nat ſo grét, byt ŋat ui myit pyrfektli git ovyr it in a uiiks ryitiŋ.—Az to ŋoz hu du nat ſpel uel, if ŋi tu difikyltiz er kympérd, [viz.] *ŋat av titfiiŋ ŋem tru ſpeliŋ in ŋi prezent mod, and ŋat av titfiiŋ ŋem ŋi nu alfabet and ŋi nu ſpeliŋ akardiŋ to it; ɥi am kanfident ŋat ŋi latyr uuld bi byi far ŋi liiſt. ŋé natyrali fal into ŋi nu meŋyd alredi, az mytfi az ŋi imperfekfiyn av ŋer alfabet uil admit av; ŋér prezent bad ſpeliŋ iz onli bad, bikaz kantreri to ŋi prezent bad ruls: yndyr ŋi nu ruls it uuld bi gud. —ŋi difikylti av lyrniŋ to ſpel uel in ŋi old uê iz ſo grét, ŋat fiu atên it; ŋauzands and ŋauzands ryitiŋ an to old edfi, uiŋaut ever biiŋ ebil to akuyir it. 'Tiz, biſyidz, e difikylti kantinuali inkriiſiŋ; az ŋi ſaund graduali veriz mor and mor fram ŋi ſpeliŋ: and to*

faremyrs

farenyrs ‡ *it mêks ȝi lyrniŋ to pronauns aur languedſi, az riten in aur buks, almoſt impaſibil.*

Nau az to "ȝi inkanvinienſiz" iu menſiyn.—ȝi fyrſt iz; ȝat "acal aur etima-"lodſiiz uuld bi laſt, kanſikuentli ui kuld "nat aſyrteen ȝi miiniŋ av meni uyrds." —etimalodſiiz er at prezent veri ynſyrten; byt ſytſi az ȝê er, ȝi old buks uuld ſtil prizyrv ȝem, and etimalodſiiſts uuld ȝêr fyind ȝem. Uyrds in ȝi kors av tyim, tſiendſi ȝer miiniŋs, az uel az ȝer ſpeliŋ and pronynſieſiyn; and ui du nat luk to etimalodſii far ȝer prezent miiniŋs. If ȝi ſhuld kal e man e Neev and e Vilen,

‡ [Dr. Franklin uſed to lay ſome little ſtreſs on this circumſtance, when he occaſionally ſpoke on the ſubject. 'A dictionary formed 'on this model would have been ſerviceable to him, he ſaid, even 'as an *American*;' becauſe from the want of public examples of pronunciation in his own country, it was often difficult to learn the proper ſound of certain words, which occurred very frequently in our Engliſh writings, and which of courſe every American very well underſtood as to their meaning.

I think I have ſeen a French grammar, which endeavoured to repreſent the French pronunciation, by a reſolution of it into Engliſh letters; but for want of proper characters, it ſeemed an embarraſſed buſineſs.—Is not the bad ſpelling obſerved in French manuſcripts, owing in ſome degree to the great variance between their orthography and pronunciation? E.]

hi

hi uuld hardli bi ſatisfyid wiþ myi teliŋ him, þat uyn av þi uyrds oridfinali ſignifyid onli e lad ar ſyrvant; and þi yþyr, an yndyr plauman, ar þi inhabitant av e viledfi. It iz fram prezent iuſedfi onli, þi miiniŋ av uyrds iz to bi dityrmined.

Iur ſekynd inkanviniens iz, þat "þi diſ- "tinkfiyn bituiin uyrds av difyrent miiniŋ "and ſimilar ſaund uuld bi diſtrayid."— þat diſtinkfiyn iz alredi diſtrayid in pronaunſiŋ þem; and ui rilyi an þi ſens alon av þi ſenten: to aſyrteen, huitfi av þi ſeveral uyrds, ſimilar in ſaund, ui intend. If þis iz ſyfifient in þi rapiditi av diſkors, it uil bi mutfi mor ſo in riten ſentenſes; huitfi mé bi red lezfiurli; and atended to mor partikularli in kes av difikylti, þan ui kan atend to e paſt ſentens, huyil e ſpikyr iz hyryiiŋ ys alaŋ uiþ nu uyns.

Iur þyrd inkanviniens iz, þat "aal þi "buks alredi riten uuld bi iuſles."—þis in-

kanviniens

kanviniens uuld onli kym an graduali, in e kors av edfies. Iu and yi, and yhyr nau liviŋ ridyrs, uuld hardli farget hi ius av hem. Piipil uuld long lyrn to riid hi old ryitiŋ, ho hé praktiſt hi nu.—And hi inkanviniens iz nat greter, han huat hes aktuali hapend in a ſimilar kes, in Iteli. Farmerli its inhabitants caal ſpok and rot Latin: az hi languedfi tfiendfid, hi ſpeliŋ falo'd it. It iz tru hat at prezent, e miir ynlarn'd Italien kanat riid hi Latin buks; ho he er ſtil red and yndyrſtud byi meni. Byt, if hi ſpeliŋ had nevyr bin tfiendfied, hi uuld nau hev faund it myth mor difikylt to riid and ryit hiz on languadfi ‡; far riten uyrds uuld hev had no rilefiyn to ſaunds, he uuld onli hev ſtud far hiŋs; ſo hat if hi uuld ekſpres in ryitiŋ hi yidia hi hez, huen hi ſaunds hi uyrd Veſcovo, *hi myſt iuz hi leterz* Epiſcopus.—*In fiart,*

‡ [That is, ſuppoſing it ſtill to have kept up to its old form of *Latin* ſpelling, and not to have changed to the preſent form of *Italian* ſpelling. E.]

huatever

huatever ẖi difikyltiz and inkanvinienſiz nau er, ẖe uil bi mor iizili ſyrmaunted nau, ẖan hiraftyr; and ſym tyim ar yẖyr, it myſt bi dyn; ar aur ryitiŋ uil bikym ẖi ſém uiẖ ẖi Thyiniiz ‡, az to ẖi difikylti av lyrniŋ and iuziŋ it. And it uuld alredi hev bin ſytſi, if ui had kantinud ẖi Sakſyn ſpeliŋ and ryitiŋ, iuzed byi our forfaẖers.

yi am, myi diir frind,

iurs afekſiynetli,

B. Franklin *.

Lyndyn,
Kreven-ſtriit,
Sept. 28, 1768.

‡ Chineſe.

* [Perhaps it would have been better to have had the new letters caſt upright, in order to have ſuited with Roman inſtead of Italic characters: But it did not occur till too late.—If any falſe ſpelling has appeared in the above, it is as fair to attribute it to the editor as to the author. E.]

On

On the VIS INERTIÆ of Matter.

In a Letter to Mr. Baxter.

ACCORDING to my promiſe, I ſend you *in writing* my obſervations on your book *: You will be the better able to conſider them; which I deſire you to do at your leiſure, and to ſet me right where I am wrong.

I ſtumble at the threſhold of the building, and therefore have not read farther. The author's *Vis Inertiæ eſſential to Matter*, upon which the whole work is founded, I have not been able to comprehend. And I do not think he demonſtrates at all

* [It was a book, intitled *An Inquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, wherein its* Immateriality *is evinced, &c.*—One of the chief objects of this book was to prove that a reſiſtance to any change is eſſential to matter, conſequently inconſiſtent with *active* powers in it; and that if matter wants active powers, an *immaterial being* is neceſſary for all thoſe effects, &c. aſcribed to its own natural powers. —After ſtating the ſeveral proofs queſtioned by Dr. Franklin, of a VIS *inertiæ*, or "*force* of inertneſs" in matter, the author adds; 'If the immateriality of the ſoul, the exiſtence of God, and the 'neceſſity of a moſt particular inceſſant providence in the world, 'are demonſtrable from ſuch plain and eaſy *principles*; the atheiſt 'has a deſperate cauſe in hand.' (See the 3d edit. p. 1—8.)—In fact, Mr. Baxter's doctrine ſeems to eſtabliſh, rather than diſprove, an activity in matter; and conſequently to defeat his own concluſion, were not that concluſion to be found from other premiſes. *Primâ facie* it ſeems better for Mr. Baxter's ſyſtem, to ſuppoſe matter *incapable* of *force* or effort, even in the caſe, as he calls it, of reſiſting change; which caſe appears to me no other than the ſimple one, of matter *not* altering its ſtate *without* a cauſe, and a cauſe exactly proportioned to the effect. E.]

clearly

clearly (at leaſt to me he does not) that there is really *ſuch a property in matter.*

He ſays, No. 2. 'Let a given body or maſs of 'matter be called *a*, and let any given celerity be 'called *c*. That *celerity* doubled, tripled, &c. or 'halved, thirded, &c. will be 2 *c*, 3 *c*, &c. or '$\frac{1}{2}$ *c*, $\frac{1}{3}$ *c*, &c. reſpectively: Alſo the *body* dou-'bled, tripled, or halved, thirded, will be 2 *a*, '3 *a*, or $\frac{1}{2}$ *a*, $\frac{1}{3}$ *a*, reſpectively.' Thus far is clear.—But he adds, 'Now to move the body *a* 'with the celerity *c*, requires a certain force to 'be impreſſed upon it; and to move it with a ce-'lerity as 2 *c*, requires *twice that force* to be im-'preſſed upon it, &c.' Here I ſuſpect ſome miſtake creeps in by the author's not diſtinguiſhing between a great force applied at once, or a ſmall one continually applied, to a maſs of matter, in order to move it‡. I think it is generally allowed by the philoſophers, and for aught we know, is certainly true, that there is no maſs of matter, how great ſoever, but may be moved by any force how ſmall ſoever * (taking friction out of the queſtion;) and this ſmall force continued, will in time bring the maſs to move with any velocity whatſoever. —Our author himſelf ſeems to allow this towards the end of the ſame No. 2. when he is ſubdividing his celerities and forces: for as in continuing the diviſion to eternity by his method of

‡ [It would not have been inconſiſtent in Mr. Baxter, to admit an augmentation of force from ſucceſſive applications of it; in which caſe a ſmall force often repeated, is no longer a ſmall force, but becomes a *large ſum* of forces. E.]

* [See the following note. E.]

$\frac{1}{2}$ *c*,

$\frac{1}{2}c$, $\frac{1}{3}c$, $\frac{1}{4}c$, $\frac{1}{5}c$, &c. you can never come to a fraction of velocity that is equal to o *c*, or no celerity at all; ſo dividing the force in the ſame manner, you can never come to a fraction of force that will not produce an equal fraction of celerity. —Where then is the mighty Vis Inertiæ, and what is its ſtrength; when the greateſt aſſignable maſs of matter will give way to, or be moved by the *leaſt* aſſignable force? Suppoſe two globes equal to the ſun and to one another, exactly equipoiſed in Jove's balance; ſuppoſe no friction in the center of motion, in the beam or elſewhere: If a muſketo then were to light on one of them, would he not give motion to them both, cauſing one to deſcend and the other to riſe? If it is objected that the force of gravity helps one globe to deſcend, I anſwer, the ſame force oppoſes the other's riſing: Here is an equality that leaves the whole motion to be produced by the muſketo, without whom thoſe globes would not be moved at all.—What then does Vis Inertiæ do in this caſe? and what other effect could we expect *if there were no ſuch thing?* Surely if it were any thing more than a phantom, there might be enough of it in ſuch *vaſt* bodies to annihilate, by its oppoſition to motion, ſo trifling a force?

Our author would have reaſoned more clearly, I think, if, as he has uſed the letter *a* for a certain quantity of matter, and *c* for a certain quantity of celerity, he had employed one letter more, and put *f* perhaps, for a certain quantity of force. This let us ſuppoſe to be done; and then as it is

a maxim that the force of bodies in motion is equal to the quantity of matter multiplied by the celerity, (or $f = c \times a$); and as the force received by and ſubſiſting in matter, when it is put in motion, can never exceed the force given; So if f moves a with c, there muſt needs be required $2f$ to move a with $2c$; for a moving with $2c$ would have a force equal to $2f$, which it could not receive from $1f$; And this, not becauſe there is ſuch a thing as Vis Inertiæ, for the caſe would be the ſame *if that had no exiſtence*; but becauſe nothing can give more than it has.—And now again, if a thing *can* give what it has, if $1f$ can to $1a$ give $1c$, which is the ſame thing as giving it $1f$; (i.e. if force applied to matter at reſt, can put it in motion, and give it *equal* force;) where then is Vis Inertiæ? If it exiſted at all in matter, ſhould we not find the quantity of its reſiſtance ſubtracted from the force given?

In No. 4. our author goes on and ſays, "the body "a requires a certain force to be impreſſed on it to "be moved with a celerity as c, or ſuch a force "is neceſſary; and therefore it makes a certain "reſiſtance, &c.: a body as $2a$ requires *twice* "that force to be moved with the *ſame celerity*, "or it makes twice that reſiſtance; and ſo on." —This I think is not true; but that the body $2a$ moved by the force $1f$ (though the eye may judge otherwiſe of it) does really move with the ſame celerity as it did when impelled by the ſame force; for $2a$ is compounded of $1a + 1a$: and if each of the $1a$'s or each part of the compound were made

to

to move with 1 *c* (as they might be by 2 *f*) then the whole would move with 2 *c*, and not with 1 *c*, as our author ſuppoſes. But 1 *f* applied to 2 *a* makes each *a* move with $\frac{1}{2}$ *c*; and ſo the whole moves with 1 *c*; exactly the ſame as 1 *a* was made to do by 1 *f* before. What is equal celerity but a *meaſuring the ſame* * *ſpace by moving bodies in the ſame time?*—Now if 1 *a* impelled by 1 *f* meaſures 100 yards in a minute; and in 2 *a* impelled by 1 *f*, each *a* meaſures 50 yards in a minute, which added make 100; are not the celerities as the forces equal? and ſince force and celerity in the ſame quantity of matter are always in *proportion* to each other, why ſhould we, when the quantity of matter is doubled, allow the force to continue unimpaired, and yet ſuppoſe one half of the celerity to be loſt *?—I wonder the more at our author's

* [Dr. Franklin's reaſoning ſeems only to prove, that where bodies of different maſſes have equal force, they 'meaſure *equal* ſpace in 'equal times.' For allowing that 2 *a* moves 100 yards in a minute (becauſe it moves two ſeparate 50 yards in that time) yet ſurely that ſpace is not the *ſame* with that of the 100 yards moved by 1 *a*, in the ſame time, though it may be equal to it: For the body 2 *a* (that is *a* and *a*) in the firſt caſe, deſcribes a broad double ſpace; and the body 1 *a*, in the ſecond caſe, deſcribes a long and ſingle ſpace.—There is a farther conſideration which may ſhew the difference of celerity and force: For when Dr. Franklin ſays in his ſecond paragraph, that 'there is no maſs of matter, how great ſoever, 'but may be moved, *with any velocity*, by any continued force, how 'ſmall ſoever;' I aſk whether the *moving body* muſt not have its force rather in the ſhape of much celerity, than of much matter, for this purpoſe; ſince without much celerity it would not move faſt enough to *apply* its force to give the required velocity; even though its quantity of matter, and conſequently of force, were infinite.—'Equal celerity therefore in moving bodies, is their meaſuring equal 'ſpace, *along a continued line*, in equal time.' Equal ſpace meaſured along a number of *ſmaller parallel* lines, ſuits caſes of *equal motion* indeed, but, according to this corrected definition, not of *equal celerity*. E.]

miſtake in this point, ſince in the ſame number I find him obſerving: "We may eaſily conceive "that a body as 3 *a*, 4 *a*, &c. would make 3 or "4 bodies equal to once *a*, each of which would "require once the firſt force to be moved with "the celerity *c*." If then in 3 *a*, each *a* requires once the firſt force *f* to be moved with the celerity *c*, would not each move with the force *f* and celerity *c*; and conſequently the whole be 3 *a* moving with 3 *f* and 3 *c*? After ſo diſtinct an obſervation, how could he miſs of the conſequence, and imagine that 1 *c* and 3 *c* were the ſame? Thus as our author's abatement of celerity in the caſe of 2 *a* moved by 1 *f* is imaginary, ſo muſt be his additional reſiſtance.—And here again, I am at a loſs to diſcover any effect of the Vis Inertiæ.

In No. 6. he tells us "that all this is likewiſe "certain when taken the contrary way, viz. *from* "*motion to reſt*; for the body *a* moving with a "certain velocity, as *c*, requires a certain degree "of force or reſiſtance to ſtop that motion, &c. "&c." that is, in other words, equal force is neceſſary to deſtroy force. It may be ſo. But how does that diſcover a Vis Inertiæ? would not the effect be the ſame *if there were no ſuch thing?* A force 1 *f* ſtrikes a body 1 *a*, and moves it with the celerity 1 *c*, i. e. with the force 1 *f*. It requires, even according to our author, only an oppoſing 1 *f* to ſtop it. But ought it not (if there were a Vis Inertiæ) to have not only the force 1 *f*, but an additional force equal to the force of Vis Inertiæ,

tiæ, that *obſtinate power by which a body endeavours with* all its might *to continue in its preſent ſtate, whether of motion or reſt?* I ſay, ought there not to be an oppoſing force equal to the ſum of theſe? —The truth however is, that there is no body, how large ſoever, moving with any velocity, how great ſoever, but may be ſtopped by any oppoſing force, how ſmall ſoever, continually applied. At leaſt all our modern philoſophers agree to tell us ſo.

Let me turn the thing in what light I pleaſe, I cannot diſcover the Vis Inertiæ, nor any effect of it. It is allowed by all, that a body 1 *a* moving with a velocity 1 *c*, and a force 1 *f ſtriking another* body 1 *a* at reſt, they will afterwards *move on together*, each with $\frac{1}{2}c$ and $\frac{1}{2}f$; which, as I ſaid before, is equal in the whole to 1 *c* and 1 *f*. If Vis Inertiæ, as in this caſe, neither abates the force nor the velocity of bodies, what does it, or how does it diſcover itſelf?

I imagine I may venture to conclude my obſervations on this piece, almoſt in the words of the author; That if the doctrines of the immateriality of the ſoul and the exiſtence of God and of divine providence are demonſtrable from no plainer principles, the *deiſt* [i. e. *theiſt*] has a deſperate cauſe in hand. I oppoſe *my theiſt* to his atheiſt, becauſe I think they are diametrically oppoſite; and not near of kin, as Mr. Whitfield ſeems to ſuppoſe; where (in his journal) he tell us, "*M. B.* "*was a deiſt, I had almoſt ſaid an atheiſt*;" that is, *chalk*, I had almoſt ſaid *charcoal*.

The din of the market * increaſes upon me; and that, with frequent interruptions, has, I find, made me ſay ſome things twice over; and, I ſuppoſe, forget ſome others I intended to ſay. It has, however, one good effect, as it obliges me to come to the relief of your patience with

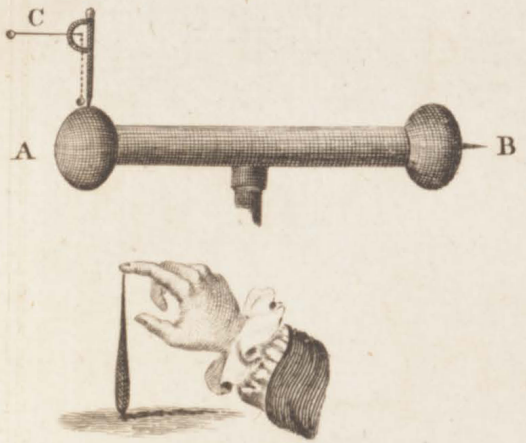
Your humble ſervant,

B. FRANKLIN.

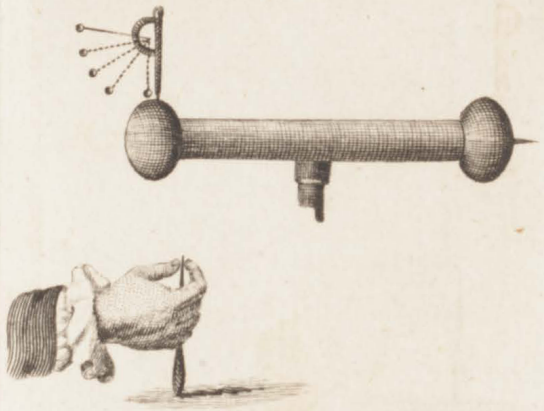
* [Hungerford-market, near Craven-ſtreet where Dr. Franklin uſually reſided when in London. E.]

Experiments

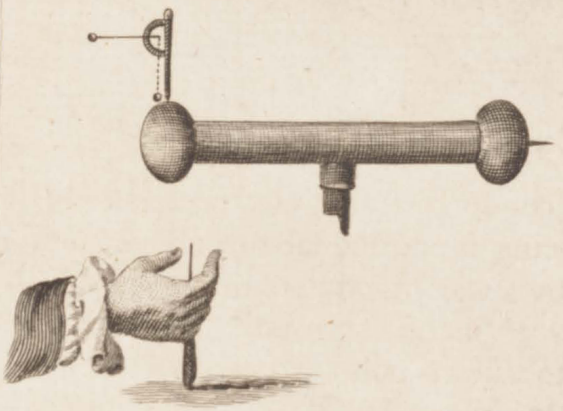
Exp. I.



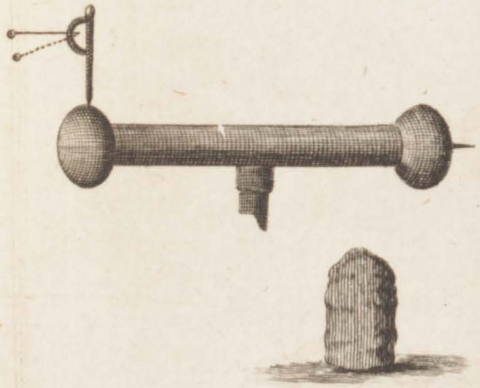
Exp. II.



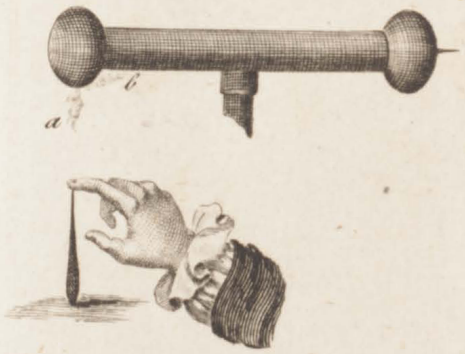
Exp. III.



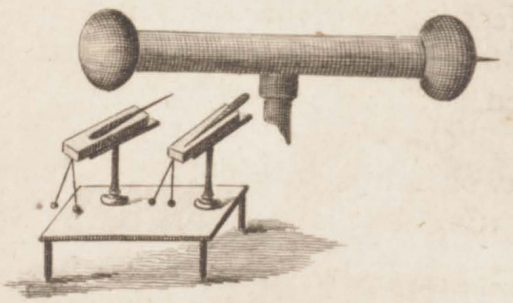
Exp. IV.



Exp. V.



Exp. VI.



Experiments, Obſervations, and Facts, tending to ſupport the opinion of the utility of long pointed rods, *for ſecuring buildings from damage by ſtrokes of lightning* ‡.

Experiment I.

THE prime conductor of an electric machine, A. B. † being ſupported about $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the table by a wax-ſtand, and under it erected a *pointed wire* $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $\frac{1}{5}$ of an inch thick, tapering to a ſharp point, and communicating with the table; When the *point* (being uppermoſt) is *covered* by the end of a finger, the conductor may be full charged, and the electrometer *c* *, will riſe to the height indicating a full charge: But the moment the point is *uncovered*, the ball of the electrometer drops, ſhewing the prime conductor to be inſtantly diſcharged and nearly emptied of its electricity.—Turn the wire its *blunt* end upwards, (which repreſents an unpointed bar,) and no ſuch effect follows, the electrometer remaining at its uſual height when the prime conductor is charged.

Obſervation.

What quantity of lightning, a high pointed rod well communicating with the earth may be ex-

‡ Read at the committee appointed to conſider the erecting conductors to ſecure the magazines at Purfleet. Aug. 27, 1772.

† [See the plate. E.]

* Mr. Henley's.

pected to diſcharge from the clouds ſilently in a ſhort time, is yet unknown; but I have reaſon from a particular fact to think it may at ſome times be very great.—In Philadelphia I had ſuch a rod fixed to the top of my chimney, and extending about nine feet above it. From the foot of this rod, a wire (the thickneſs of a gooſe quill) came through a covered glaſs tube in the roof, and down through the well of the ſtair-caſe; the lower end connected with the iron ſpear of a pump. On the ſtair-caſe oppoſite to my chamber-door, the wire was divided; the ends ſeparated about ſix inches, a little bell on each end; [and] between the bells a little braſs ball ſuſpended by a ſilk thread, to play between and ſtrike the bells when clouds paſſed with electricity in them. After having frequently drawn ſparks and charged bottles from the bell of the upper wire, I was one night waked by loud cracks on the ſtair-caſe. Starting up and opening the door, I perceived that the braſs ball, inſtead of vibrating as uſual between the bells, was repelled and kept at a diſtance from both; while the fire paſſed ſometimes in very large quick cracks from bell to bell; and ſometimes in a continued denſe white ſtream, ſeemingly as large as my finger, whereby the whole ſtair-caſe was enlightened as with ſunſhine, ſo that one might ſee to pick up a pin *. And from the

* Mr. De Romas ſaw ſtill greater quantities of lightning brought down by the wire of his kite. He had "exploſions from it, the noiſe "of which greatly reſembled that of thunder, and were heard (from "without) into the heart of the city, notwithſtanding the various "noiſes there.—The fire ſeen at the inſtant of the exploſion had the "ſhape

apparent quantity thus diſcharged, I cannot but conceive that a *number* * of ſuch conductors muſt conſiderably leſſen that of any approaching cloud, before it comes ſo near as to deliver its contents in a general ſtroke:—An effect not to be expected from bars *unpointed*; if the above experiment with the blunt end of the wire is deemed pertinent to the caſe.

EXPERIMENT II.

The pointed wire under the prime conductor continuing of the ſame height, *pinch* it between the thumb and finger near the top, ſo as *juſt to conceal* the point; then turning the globe, the electrometer will riſe and mark the full charge. Slip the fingers down ſo as to diſcover about half an inch of the wire, then another half inch, and then another; at every one of theſe motions *diſcovering more and more* of the pointed wire; you will ſee the electrometer fall quick and proportionably, ſtopping when you ſtop. If you ſlip down the *whole diſtance* at once, the ball falls inſtantly down to the ſtem.

Obſervation.

From this experiment it ſeems that a greater effect in drawing off the lightning from the clouds may be expected from *long* pointed rods, than

" ſhape of a ſpindle eight inches long and five lines in diameter.—
" Yet from the time of the exploſion to the end of the experiment,
" no lightning was ſeen above, nor any thunder heard.—At another
" time the ſtreams of fire iſſuing from it were obſerved to be an inch
" thick and ten feet long."—*See Dr. Prieſtley's Hiſtory of Electricity*, pages 354—6. *firſt edition.*

* Twelve were propoſed on and near the magazines at Purfleet.

from

from *ſhort* ones; I mean from ſuch as ſhow the greateſt length, *above the building* they are fixed on.

Experiment III.

Inſtead of pinching the point between the thumb and finger, as in the laſt experiment, keep the thumb and finger each at *near an inch diſtance* from it, but at the *ſame height*, the point between them. In this ſituation, though the point is fairly expoſed to the prime conductor, it has little or no effect; the electrometer riſes to the height of a full charge.—But the moment the fingers are *taken away*, the ball falls quick to the ſtem.

Obſervation.

To explain this, it is ſuppoſed, that one reaſon of the ſudden effect produced by a long naked pointed wire is, that (by the repulſive power of the poſitive charge in the prime conductor) the natural quantity of electricity contained in the pointed wire is driven down into the earth, and the point of the wire made ſtrongly *negative*; whence it attracts the electricity of the prime conductor more ſtrongly than bodies in their natural ſtate would do; the *ſmall quantity of common matter* in the point, not being able by its attractive force to retain its *natural quantity of the electric fluid*, againſt the force of that repulſion.—But the finger and thumb being ſubſtantial and blunt bodies, though as near the prime conductor, hold up better their *own* natural quantity againſt the force of that repulſion; and ſo, continuing nearly in the natural ſtate, they jointly operate on the electric

electric fluid in the point, oppoſing its deſcent, and *aiding the point* to retain it ‡; contrary to the repelling power of the prime conductor, which would drive it down.—And this may alſo ſerve to explain the different powers of the point in the preceding experiment, on the ſlipping down the finger and thumb to different diſtances *.

Hence is collected, that a pointed rod erected *between two tall chimnies*, and very little higher, (an inſtance of which I have ſeen) cannot have ſo good an effect, as if it had been erected on one of the chimneys, its whole length above it.

Experiment IV.

If, *inſtead* of a long pointed wire, a *large ſolid body*, (to repreſent a building without a point) be brought under and as near the prime conductor, when charged; the ball of the electrometer will *fall* a little; and on taking away the large body, will *riſe again*.

Obſervation.

Its *riſing again* ſhows that the prime conductor loſt little or none of its electric charge, as it had done through the point: The *falling* of the ball while the large body was under the conductor, therefore ſhows that a quantity of its atmoſphere was drawn from the end where the electrometer

‡ [Perhaps their firſt and principal tendency is, to repel and thereby leſſen the influence of the fluid in the *conductor*. See the concluding note. E.]

* [If I remember well, the French tranſlation of this paper in M. Dubourg's edition, requires ſome reviſion as to this paragraph. E.]

is

is placed * to the part immediately over the large body, and there accumulated *ready* to ſtrike into it with its whole undiminiſhed force, as ſoon as within the ſtriking diſtance; and, were the prime conductor moveable like a *cloud*, it would approach the body by attraction till within that diſtance. The ſwift motion of clouds, as driven by the winds, probably prevents this happening ſo often as otherwiſe it might do; for, though parts of the cloud may ſtoop towards a building as they paſs, in conſequence of ſuch attraction, yet they are carried forward beyond the ſtriking diſtance before they could by their deſcending come within it.

Experiment V.

Attach a ſmall light *lock of cotton* to the underſide of the prime conductor, ſo that it may hang down towards the pointed wire mentioned in the firſt experiment. *Cover* the point with your finger, and the globe being turned, the cotton will extend itſelf, ſtretching down towards the finger as at *a*; but on *uncovering* the point, it inſtantly flies up to the prime conductor, as at *b*, and continues there as long as the point is uncovered. The moment you cover it again, the cotton flies down again, extending itſelf towards the finger; and the ſame happens in degree, if (inſtead of the finger) you uſe, uncovered, the *blunt* end of the wire uppermoſt.

* [i. e. drawn for a time, to a different *part* of the conductor, but not *out* of it. E.]

Obſer-

Obſervation.

To explain this, it is ſuppoſed that the cotton, by its connection with the prime conductor, receives from it a quantity of its electricity; which occaſions its being attracted by the *finger* that remains ſtill in nearly its natural ſtate. But when a *point* is oppoſed to the cotton, its electricity is thereby taken from it, faſter than it can at a diſtance be ſupplied with a freſh quantity from the conductor. Therefore being reduced *nearer* to the natural ſtate, it is attracted *up* to the electrified prime conductor; *rather than down*, as before, to the finger.

Suppoſing farther that the prime conductor repreſents a cloud charged with the electric fluid; the cotton, a ragged fragment of cloud (of which the underſide of great thunder clouds are ſeen to have many;) the finger, a chimney or higheſt part of a building.—We then may conceive that when ſuch a cloud paſſes over a *building*, ſome one of its ragged under-hanging fragments may be drawn down by the chimney or other high part of the edifice; creating thereby a *more eaſy communication* between it and the great cloud.—But a *long pointed rod* being preſented to this fragment, may occaſion its receding, like the cotton, up to the great cloud; and thereby *increaſe*, inſtead *of leſſening* the diſtance, ſo as often to make it *greater* than the ſtriking diſtance.—Turning the *blunt end of a wire* uppermoſt, (which repreſents the unpointed bar) it appears that the ſame good effect is not from that to be expected.—A long pointed rod it is therefore imagined, may *prevent* ſome ſtrokes;

ſtrokes; as well as *conduct* others that fall upon it, when a great body of cloud comes on ſo heavily that the above repelling operation on fragments cannot take place.

Experiment VI.

Oppoſite the ſide of the prime conductor place *ſeparately*, iſolated by wax ſtems, Mr. Canton's two boxes with pith balls ſuſpended by fine linen threads. On each box, lay a wire ſix inches long and $\frac{1}{5}$ of an inch thick, tapering to a ſharp point; but ſo laid, as that four inches of the *pointed* end of *one* wire, and an equal length of the *blunt* end of the *other*, may project beyond the ends of the boxes; and both at 18 inches diſtance from the prime conductor.—Then charging the prime conductor by a turn or two of the globe, the balls of each pair will ſeparate; thoſe of the box whence the point projects moſt, *conſiderably*; the others *leſs*.—Touch the prime conductor, and thoſe of the box with the *blunt* point will *collapſe*, and join. Thoſe connected with the *point* will at the ſame time approach each other, *till* within about an inch, and *there remain* *.

Obſervation.

This ſeems a proof, that though the ſmall ſharpened part of the wire muſt have had a *leſs natural* quantity in it before the operation, than the thick blunt part; yet a greater quantity was *driven down from it* to the balls. Thence it is again inferred

* [For though the conductor is diſcharged, the *air* about it is not. E.]

that

that the pointed rod is rendered *more negative:* and farther, that if a *ſtroke muſt fall* from the cloud over a building, furniſhed with ſuch a rod, it is more likely to be drawn to that pointed rod, than to a blunt one; as being more ſtrongly negative, and of courſe its attraction ſtronger.—And it ſeems more eligible, that the lightning ſhould fall on the point of the conductor (provided to convey it into the earth,) than on any other part of the building, *thence* to proceed to ſuch conductor.—Which end is alſo more likely to be obtained by the length and loftineſs of the rod; as protecting more extenſively the building under it.

It has been OBJECTED, that erecting pointed rods upon *edifices,* is to *invite* and draw the lightning into *them*; and therefore dangerous.—Were ſuch rods to be erected on buildings, *without continuing the communication* quite down into the moiſt earth, this objection might then have weight; but when ſuch compleat conductors are made, the lightning is invited not into the building, but into the *earth,* the ſituation it aims at; and which it always ſeizes every help to obtain, even from broken partial metalline conductors.

It has alſo been ſuggeſted, that from ſuch electric experiments *nothing certain can be concluded as to the great operations of nature*; ſince it is often ſeen that experiments, which have ſucceeded in ſmall, in large have failed.—It is true that in mechanics this has ſometimes happened. But when it is conſidered that we owe our firſt knowledge of

of the nature and operations of lightning, to obſervations on ſuch ſmall experiments; and that on carefully comparing the moſt accurate accounts of former facts, and the exacteſt relations of thoſe that have occurred ſince, the effects have ſurprizingly agreed with the theory; it is humbly conceived that in natural philoſophy, in this branch of it at leaſt, the ſuggeſtion has not ſo much weight; and that the farther new experiments now adduced in recommendation of *long* ſharp-pointed rods, may have ſome claim to credit and conſideration.

It has been urged too, that though points may have conſiderable effects on a *ſmall* prime conductor at *ſmall diſtances*; yet on *great* clouds and at *great diſtances*, nothing is to be expected from them.—To this it is anſwered, that in thoſe *ſmall* experiments it is evident the points act at a greater than the *ſtriking* diſtance; and in the large way, their ſervice is *only expected* where there is *ſuch* nearneſs of the cloud, as to *endanger a ſtroke*; and there, it cannot be doubted the points muſt have ſome effect. And if the quantity diſcharged by a ſingle pointed rod may be ſo conſiderable as I have ſhown it; the quantity diſcharged by a number, will be proportionably greater.

But this part of the theory does not depend alone on *ſmall* experiments.—Since the practice of erecting pointed rods in America, (now near 20 years*) five of them have been ſtruck by lightning; viz.

* [About the year 1752. E.]

Mr.

Mr. Raven's and Mr. Maine's in South Carolina; Mr. Tucker's in Virginia; Mr. Weſt's and Mr. Moulder's in Philadelphia. Poſſibly there may have been more that have not come to my knowledge. But in every one of theſe, the lightning did *not* fall upon the *body of the houſe*, but preciſely on the ſeveral *points* of the rods; and, though the conductors were ſometimes *not ſufficiently large and compleat*, was conveyed into the earth, without any material damage to the buildings.—Facts then *in great*, as far as we have them authenticated, juſtify the opinion that is drawn from the experiments *in ſmall* as above related.

It has alſo been objected, that unleſs we knew the quantity that might *poſſibly* be diſcharged at one ſtroke from the clouds, we cannot be ſure we have provided *ſufficient* conductors; and therefore cannot depend on their conveying away *all* that may fall on their points.—Indeed we have nothing to form a judgment by in this caſe but paſt facts; and we know of no inſtance where a *compleat* conductor to the moiſt earth *has* been inſufficient, if half an inch diameter. It is probable that many ſtrokes of lightning have been conveyed through the common leaden pipes affixed to houſes to carry down the water from the roof to the ground: and there is no account of ſuch pipes being melted and deſtroyed, as muſt ſometimes have happened if they had been inſufficient.—We can then only judge of the dimenſions proper for

a conductor of lightning, as we do of thoſe proper for a *conductor of rain*, by paſt obſervation. And as we think a pipe of three inches bore ſufficient to carry off the rain that falls on a ſquare of 20 feet, becauſe we never ſaw ſuch a pipe glutted by any ſhower; ſo we may judge a conductor of an inch diameter, more than ſufficient for any ſtroke of lightning that will fall on its point. It is true that if another deluge ſhould happen wherein the windows of heaven are to be opened, ſuch pipes may be unequal to the falling quantity; and if God for our ſins ſhould think fit to rain fire upon us, as upon ſome cities of old, it is not expected that our conductors of whatever ſize, ſhould ſecure our houſes againſt a miracle.—Probably as water drawn up into the air and there forming clouds, is diſpoſed to fall again in *rain* by its natural gravity, as ſoon as a number of particles ſufficient to make a drop can get together; ſo when the clouds are (by whatever means) over or undercharged [with the *electric fluid*] to a degree ſufficient to attract them towards the earth, the equilibrium is reſtored, before the difference becomes great beyond that degree. Mr. *Lane's electrometer*, for limiting preciſely the quantity of a ſhock that is to be adminiſtered in a medical view, may ſerve to make this more eaſily intelligible. The diſcharging knob does by a ſcrew approach the conductor to the diſtance intended, but there remains fixed. Whatever power there may be in the glaſs globe to collect the fulminating fluid, and whatever capacity of receiving and accumulating it there

there may be in the bottle or glaſs jar; yet neither the accumulation or the diſcharge, ever exceeds the deſtined quantity. Thus, were the *clouds* always at a certain fixed diſtance from the earth, all diſcharges would be made when the quantity accumulated was equal to the diſtance: But there is a circumſtance which by occaſionally leſſening the diſtance, leſſens the diſcharge; to wit, the moveableneſs of the clouds, and their being drawn nearer to the earth by attraction when electrified; ſo that diſcharges are thereby rendered more frequent and of courſe leſs violent. Hence whatever the quantity may be in nature, and whatever the power in the clouds of collecting it; yet an accumulation and force beyond what mankind has hitherto been acquainted with, is ſcarce to be expected*.

Aug. 27, 1772. B. F.

* [It may be fit to mention here, that the immediate occaſion of the diſpute concerning the preference between pointed and blunt conductors of lightning, aroſe as follows.—A powder mill having blown up at Breſcia, in conſequence of its being ſtruck with lightning, the Engliſh board of ordnance applied to their painter, Mr. Wilſon, then of ſome note as an electrician, for a method to prevent the like accident to their magazines at Purfleet. Mr. Wilſon having adviſed a blunt conductor, and it being underſtood that Dr. Franklin's opinion, formed upon the ſpot, was for a pointed one; the matter was referred in 1772, to the Royal Society, and by them as uſual, to a committee, who, after conſultation, preſcribed a method conformable to Dr. Franklin's theory. But a harmleſs ſtroke of lightning, having under particular circumſtances, fallen upon one of the buildings and its apparatus in May 1777; the ſubject came again into violent agitation, and was again referred to the ſociety, and by the ſociety again referred to a new committee, which committee

confirmed the deciſion of the firſt committee. As the diſpute in the public opinion is not yet cloſed, for this and for other reaſons, I have been very ſummary in my account of it.—It is ſuperfluous to add perhaps, that in the courſe of this controverſy, (which after occupying attention from the firſt perſonages at home, has found its way abroad) Mr. Henly and Mr. Nairne have very much ſignalized themſelves, as Dr. Franklin's defenders; and that our author's opinions are now likely to find another principal and farther advocate in Lord Viſcount Mahon.

Without going much into the general queſtion, I beg permiſſion here, to throw out a hint, on the nature and effect of blunt and pointed terminations in conductors of the electric fluid.—A *point* of conducting matter, it may be obſerved, attracts the fluid by virtue only of that ſingle point. But if a maſs of ſuch matter is connected with the fluid, the fluid becomes attracted not only by the particle of matter diametrically before it, but by thoſe particles likewiſe that lie to the right and left of it: Juſt as when three or four perſons ſit cloſe together in a row at a table, with each a taper before him, reading; they not only receive the illumination of their own particular taper, but that proceeding from the *ſide rays* of their neighbours; ſo as all of them to ſee better, than if each were placed with his taper in a ſeparate room.—But farther. When conducting bodies connected with the earth, are ſaid to be in their natural ſtate reſpecting electricity, it is not meant that they are then *without* electricity; but only that they have no more than their ſhare in the general diſtribution of it throughout nature: Every ſuch body has its portion; greater or ſmaller according to what it is able relatively to contain. The point, and the blunt maſs therefore juſt mentioned, have *different* collections of fluid, even in what is called their *natural* ſtate*; becauſe the retaining power in blunt bodies is greater, in *proportion* to its number of particles, than in the point †. —When therefore a *preternaturally* charged body is preſented to ſuch a *blunt* body, it finds in it a conſiderable collection of fluid, by which its own charge is repelled, and that at ſome diſtance. But when a *point* is preſented, the fluid of the preternaturally charged body approaches very near it, and then by its ſuperior force (more eaſily

* [This natural ſtate is a ſort of mean, between the preternatural and negative ſtates; and its exiſtence is well known from many experiments to electricians. E.]

† [It is true alſo that when the charge thickens, the *repellency of the fluid* increaſes for the ſame, and other reaſons; but then, to a certain pitch, the ſuperior force of the increaſed attraction balances this. E.]

than

than in the former caſe) drives away the natural charge, in order to get at the point; which having done, it quickly makes uſe of it as a mere conductor. In this caſe it is ſeen why a preternatural charge eaſily puſhes *into* a point, to which it is placed oppoſite, (in order to come to an equilibrium with the earth.)—But a preternatural charge alſo eaſily puſhes *out* of a point, with which it is connected, in order to go into the neighbouring bodies; for a preternatural electric charge is (if one may be allowed the expreſſion) ſo ſelf-repellent, as to be ever ready to burſt and diſperſe; and as it is of no conſequence that ſome parts of the body in which it reſides, are faithful to their truſt, provided other parts are ſo weak as to admit its eſcape, the neighbouring bodies conteſt the poſſeſſion at the weaker ſpot; and by that means draw off ſo much of the charge as is preternatural, ſoon leaving the fluid reduced to its natural ſtandard. —In the caſes therefore both of ingreſs and egreſs, the point is with great facility ſtripped of its natural charge, and becomes converted for a moment from a retainer of the fluid into a mere conductor of it.

As to the caſe of *conductors againſt lightning*, one may be very well content to have found out a means of contriving a paſſage for the ſtroke, where it can do *no* harm, which paſſage it ſhall *prefer* to the building, to which it might do harm. And a metal rod it ſeems anſwers this purpoſe; being cheap with reſpect to expence, and a much better inviter of the fluid than the building. But for the ſame reaſon that we uſe a metalline rod, as being a better conductor of the fluid, than the building itſelf, it ſhould ſeem that we ought to prefer a metalline rod that is *pointed*; becauſe the point (virtually) greatly *increaſes* the inviting powers of the metal.—It is not indeed to be ſuppoſed that we ſhould conſtruct the pointed conductors of a *wanton* height; ſo as to make them interfere with lightning that would not itſelf interfere with the building *.—But, if it ſhould appear, that the rods preſcribed for common uſe are more than ſufficient to conduct the largeſt ſtroke ever known to take place; and if it ſhould alſo appear that *ſlender* elevated points have a remarkable tendency not only to conduct a ſtroke when upon its paſſage, preferably to a blunt termination; but to ſteal it away from the charged clouds ſilently and piece-meal, *before* it can come in the form of a ſtroke, thereby preventing that ſtroke; (and all theſe circumſtances do very evidently appear;) then it will be found that much more danger is *left* by low conductors, than can poſſibly be *incurred* by any particularly elevated pointed ones; and conſequently that

* [Unleſs for inſtance it was placed on ſome principal eminence or building in a town, where it ſhould ſerve by that means as a ſort of general protection to the town. E.]

it is much ſafer to exceed in the one way, than to be deficient in the other.—As to the points on the ſeveral buildings at Purfleet, the only fault in them, (if there was any fault) ſeems to have been their *not* being high and frequent *enough*.

There is more perhaps to be ſaid on theſe ſubjects, but theſe pages are the property of Dr. Franklin. E.]

P. S. There is a difficulty however to be anſwered here with reſpect to the *attractive* influence of *blunt* conductors. For it may be thought that if a blunt body acts ſo powerfully upon its natural charge, it ought for the ſame reaſon to be *proportionably inviting to a* FOREIGN *charge*.—Let then the letters A B C, in the order in which they ſtand, reſpectively repreſent the blunt body, the natural charge, and the foreign charge. The foreign charge is here allowed to be ſtrongly attracted by the blunt body A; but ſince the natural charge B intervenes between them, the repellency of that natural charge acts from a *nearer* poſt than the attraction of A; and as its quantity and repellency is in the firſt inſtance proportioned (in ſome meaſure) to the attraction of A, and it has the advantage of poſition; the invitation to a foreign charge is thus conſiderably checked in the blunt body.—As to the point, *its* merit lies, not in its attraction of the fluid, but in its giving little oppoſition to its paſſage, whether it be going in or coming out of it.

But farther: It may be thought that if a ſuperior quantity of natural charge ſurrounds blunt bodies, compared with pointed ones; Mr. Canton's *pith-balls* ought to *diſcover the difference*.—But I anſwer that the ſuperior charge in blunt bodies cannot affect the balls by *attracting* them; For attraction acts only between bodies that are diſproportionately charged; but as the balls and blunt body have equally been communicating with the maſs of fluid in the earth, the affair of competition and proportion has been previouſly ſettled between them, and they cannot now differ. Neither can the charge of the blunt body *repel* the balls; For ſince other bodies drawing proportionable ſhares of fluid from the earth ſurround or in the preſent ſtate of things are connected with the balls; thoſe other bodies muſt loſe their charges, before the balls can be driven back upon them; but thoſe charges are held up in the bodies by the common maſs of fluid in the earth, which is the ſame force that holds up the fluid in the blunt body itſelf, (that would otherwiſe become diſperſed, down to a certain proportion.) — However though *bodies* containing the natural charge, are thus ſeen not affected by its different diſtributions, yet it may happen otherwiſe with the *fluid* itſelf that conſtitutes this charge: For ſuppoſe two *blunt* bodies, communicating with the earth, to be brought near each other; the fluid in each body repelling that in the oppoſite, and the attraction

in

in each body diminiſhing that in the oppoſite, ſome of the fluid from each body muſt recoil and retire into the earth; the maſs of fluid in which earth therefore muſt for the time be augmented and diſturbed; though in a degree ſo infinitely ſmall, as to be inſenſible *. In like manner if ſeveral *pointed* conductors that before ſtood ſeparate, are put by the ſide of each other; they will inſtantly have more fluid collected round them, than when in their ſeparate ſtate; (owing to the union of each other's ſpare lateral influences, as mentioned above:) Which ſhews that conductors with *ſingle* points, or otherwiſe points placed *ſufficiently aſunder* †, are the ſafeſt for our buildings and the moſt powerful for our electrical machines. In which latter caſe (of the machines) the neceſſity for *retaining* the fluid that is collected, affords a farther and ſtronger reaſon againſt their multiplicity; ſince if by any accident, points are placed in a ſituation where they do *not receive* the fluid, they will in general be ſure to *emit* it. E.]

* [The difference of juxta-poſition and ſeparation in bodies, as to the charges they will contain, is proved in Dr. Franklin's letters, p. 129, 130, and in Beccaria on Artificial Electricity, art. 457; the ſame thing happening in an *artificial* charge, which is here affirmed concerning a *natural* one. E.]

† [Therefore pieces of metal with teeth like a *ſaw*, ſeem on ſeveral accounts not ſo proper as long ſlender points of metal. E.]

Suppoſitions and Conjectures towards forming an Hypotheſis, *for the explanation of the* Aurora Borealis *.

1. AIR heated by any means, becomes rarified, and ſpecifically *lighter* than other air in the ſame ſituation not heated.

2. Air being made thus lighter riſes, and the neighbouring cooler heavier air takes its place.

3. If in the middle of a room you heat the air by a ſtove, or pot of burning coals near the floor, the heated air will *riſe* to the ceiling, ſpread over the cooler air till it comes to the cold walls; there, being condenſed and made heavier, it *deſcends* to ſupply the place of that cool air which had moved towards the ſtove or fire, in order to ſupply the place of the heated air which had aſcended from the ſpace around the ſtove or fire.

4. Thus there will be a continual circulation of air in the room; which may be rendered viſible by making a little ſmoke, for that ſmoke will riſe and circulate with the air.

[N. B. Whenever an aſteriſk or other mark is put in the text above, a note to correſpond with it will be found at the end of the piece; *numbered* as the article in the text is numbered, and the ſubject of it there briefly recapitulated. The notes may be read at leiſure. E.]

5. A

5. A ſimilar operation is performed by nature on the air of this globe. Our atmoſphere is of a certain height, perhaps at a medium [ ] miles: Above that height it is ſo rare as to be almoſt a vacuum. The air heated between the tropics is continually riſing; its place is ſupplied by northerly and ſoutherly winds, which come from the cooler regions.

6. The light heated air floating above the cooler and denſer, muſt ſpread northward and ſouthward; and deſcend near the two poles, to ſupply the place of the cool air, which had moved towards the equator.

7. Thus a circulation of air ‡ is kept up in our atmoſphere, as in the room above mentioned.

8. That heavier and lighter air may move in currents of different and even oppoſite direction, appears ſometimes by the clouds that happen to be in thoſe currents, as plainly as by the ſmoke in the experiment above mentioned.—Alſo in opening a *door* between two chambers, one of which has been warmed, by holding a candle near the top, near the bottom, and near the middle, you will find a ſtrong current of warm air paſſing out of the warmed room above, and another of cool air entering below; while in the middle there is little or no motion.

9. The great quantity of vapour riſing between the tropics forms clouds, which contain much electricity.

Some of them fall in rain, before they come to the polar regions.

10. If

10. If the rain be received in an iſolated veſſel, the veſſel will be electrified; for every drop brings down ſome electricity with it.

11. The ſame is done by ſnow or hail.

12. The electricity ſo deſcending, in temperate * climates, is received and imbibed by the earth.

13. If the clouds are not ſufficiently diſcharged by this gradual operation, they ſometimes diſcharge themſelves ſuddenly by ſtriking into the earth, where the earth is fit to receive their electricity.

14. The earth in temperate and warm climates is generally fit to receive it, being a good conductor.

15. A certain quantity of heat will make ſome bodies good conductors, that will not otherwiſe conduct.

16. Thus wax rendered fluid, and glaſs ſoftened by heat, will both of them conduct.

17. And water, though naturally a good conductor, will not conduct well, when frozen into ice by a common degree of cold; not at all, where the cold is extreme †.

18. Snow falling upon frozen ground has been found to retain its electricity; and to communicate it ‡ to an iſolated body, when after falling, it has been driven about by the wind.

19. The

19. The humidity contained in all the equatorial clouds that reach the polar regions, muſt there be condenſed and fall in ſnow.

20. The great cake of ice that eternally covers thoſe regions may be too hard frozen to permit the electricity, deſcending with that ſnow †, to enter the earth.

21. It may therefore be *accumulated upon that ice.*

22. The atmoſphere being heavier in the polar regions, than in the equatorial, will there be lower; as well from that cauſe, as from the ſmaller effect of the centrifugal force: conſequently the diſtance of the vacuum above the atmoſphere will be leſs at the poles, than elſewhere; and probably much leſs than the diſtance (upon the ſurface of the globe) extending from the pole to thoſe latitudes in which the earth is ſo thawed as to receive and imbibe electricity; (the froſt continuing to lat. 80 ‡, which is ten degrees, or 600 miles from the pole; while the height of the atmoſphere there of ſuch denſity as to obſtruct the motion ‖ of the electric fluid, can ſcarce be eſteemed above [ ] miles).

23. The *vacuum* above is a good conductor *.

24. May not then the great quantity of electricity, brought into the polar regions by the clouds, which are condenſed there, and fall in ſnow, which electricity would enter the earth, but

but cannot penetrate the ice; may it not, I ſay, *(as a bottle overcharged)* break through that low atmoſphere, and run along in the vacuum over the air towards the equator; diverging as the degrees of longitude enlarge; ſtrongly viſible where denſeſt, and becoming leſs viſible as it more diverges; till it finds a paſſage to the earth in more temperate climates, or is mingled with their upper air?

25. If ſuch an operation of nature were really performed, would it not give all the appearances of an AURORA BOREALIS?

26. And would not the auroras become more frequent *after the approach of winter* †: not only becauſe more viſible in longer nights; but alſo becauſe in ſummer the long preſence of the ſun may ſoften the ſurface of the great ice cake, and render it a conductor, by which the accumulation of electricity in the polar regions will be prevented?

27. The *atmoſphere of the polar regions* ‡ being made more denſe by the extreme cold, and all the moiſture in that air being frozen; may not any great light ariſing therein, and paſſing through it, render its denſity in ſome degree viſible during the night time, to thoſe who live in the rarer air of more ſouthern latitudes; and would it not in that caſe, although in itſelf a complete and full circle, extending perhaps ten degrees from the pole, appear to ſpectators ſo placed (who could ſee only a part of it) *in the form of a ſegment*; its chord

chord reſting on the horizon, and its arch elevated more or leſs above it as ſeen from latitudes more or leſs diſtant; *darkiſh in colour*, but yet *ſufficiently tranſparent* to permit ſome ſtars to be ſeen thro' it.

28. The *rays* of electric matter iſſuing out of a body, diverge * by mutually repelling each other, unleſs there be ſome conducting body near, to receive them: and if that conducting body be at a greater diſtance, they will *firſt diverge*, and then *converge* in order to enter it. May not this account for ſome of the varieties of figure ſeen at times in the *motions* of the luminous matter of the auroras: ſince it is poſſible, that in paſſing over the atmoſphere, from the north in all directions or meridians, towards the equator, the rays of that matter may find in many places, portions of cloudy region, or moiſt atmoſphere under them, which (being in the natural or negative ſtate) may be fit to receive them, and towards which they may therefore converge: and when one of thoſe receiving bodies is more than ſaturated, they may *again* diverge from it, towards other ſurrounding maſſes of ſuch humid atmoſphere, and thus form the *crowns* †, as they are called, and other figures mentioned in the hiſtories of this meteor ‡?

Notes

Notes to the preceding Paper.

* [If I miſtake not, this paper was read to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, at the meeting held immediately after Eaſter 1779.

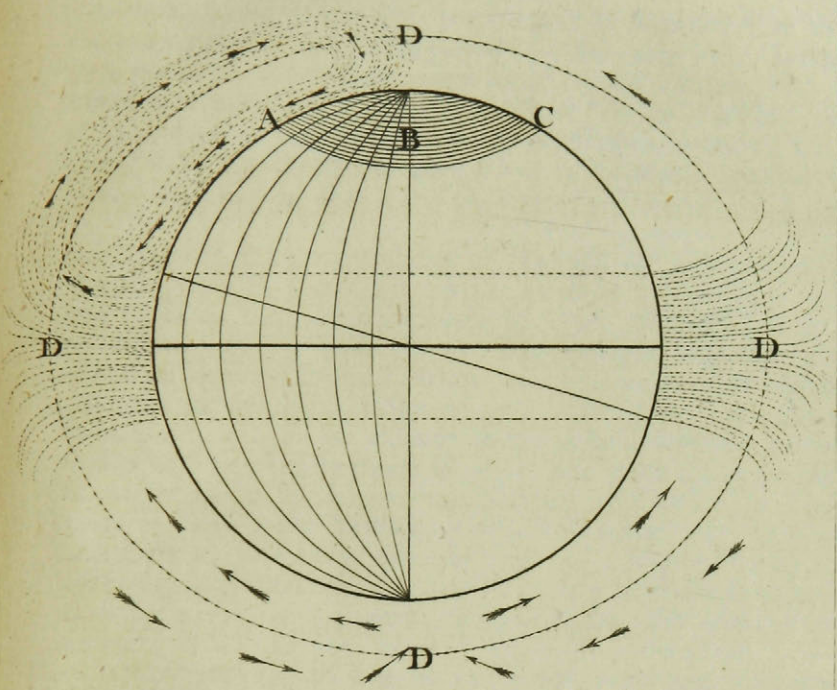
Diſcoveries relative to the electricity of the atmoſphere, ſeem the property of Dr. Franklin. Having explained the *ſubſtance* of lightning, and the means of *diſarming* its fury, having furniſhed the principal facts and conjectures for determining its *mode of collection* and *diſcharge*, along with our *clouds*; it remained for him to inſtruct us in the hiſtory of the *Aurora Borealis*.—He modeſtly calls it only a preparation towards an hypotheſis; but there are few electricians who will not ſee diſcovered in it fundamentals of its cauſe; and hereafter when contemplating this meteor, pay their tribute to Dr. Franklin.

I find it neceſſary to obſerve however, that Dr. Franklin appears to have little difficulty in ſuppoſing the electric fluid and the matter of the auroras, to be one and the ſame; and only inquires *how* the fluid comes to be found in a *ſituation* fit for producing the appearances there exhibited.—He does not therefore enumerate any of thoſe articles in which they mutually *correſpond*; ſuch as the diffuſed milky light, the ſilent flitting, and ſometimes convulſed corruſcations of that light, the ſeveral varieties of colour, &c. that are alike ſeen in the auroras, and our leſs perfect artificial vacuums when electrified; together with other circumſtances of reſemblance that are to be collected from the hypotheſis itſelf.

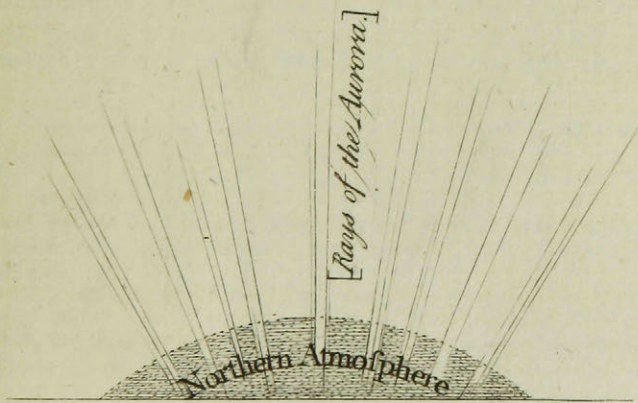
The *convulſed* corruſcations indeed in the auroras, moſt reſemble the repetitions of the ſtroke obſervable in lightning; which however, being acknowledged electrical, comes to the ſame thing.—And the repetitions in both caſes may be ſuppoſed owing to the diſcharge of one collection of the fluid along the conducting paſſage, being inſtantly followed by the diſcharge of another from a more diſtant reſervoir, ſucceeding into the vacancy the firſt has left, and then itſelf ruſhing in turn to the conducting paſſage: And, as many in number as the connected reſervoirs are, ſo frequent will be the repetition of the ſtroke; the firſt diſcharges being neceſſarily the moſt violent †.—But if theſe corruſcations ſhould *not* all of them

† [Accounts are often given of ſtrokes of lightning, which are ſaid to have *divided* themſelves upon their paſſage in different directions? May not theſe appearances more frequently ariſe from the exploſion and diſſipation of the firſt diſcovered conductors, by the firſt diſcharges; which makes it neceſſary for the *following* diſcharges to ſeek other courſes? E.]

ariſe



The Arrows represent the general Currents of the Air.
A.B.C. the great Cake of Ice & Snow in the Polar Regions.
D.D.D.D. the Medium Height of the Atmosphere.
The Representation is made only for one Quarter and one Meridian of the Globe; but is to be understood the same for all the rest.



ariſe from abſolute diſcharges, (and it may be ſuppoſed from obſervation that they do not,) then perhaps the fluid may be conſidered at theſe moments as under the operation of certain accidents that may attend it in its *inſulation* †. — Indeed thoſe ſtill and detached *clouds of light*, ſo often ſeen in the auroras, out of reach of the north; are hardly to be accounted for, even allowing the theory, without ſuppoſing an inſulation that is in ſome degree permanent. E.]

[‡ §7. " Thus a circulation of [humid] air is kept up in our " atmoſphere."—There are ſome facts to be related here, which may elucidate our author's conjectures. 1°. The *effect of the ſun* on our atmoſphere is held to be powerful enough, to give an almoſt inflexible direction to the *lower* air (or *trade winds*) in the northern Atlantic, to the vaſt diſtance of 2000 miles from the equator; (which is near $\frac{1}{7}$ of the diſtance to the polar ice-cake, afterwards ſpoken of.) — 2°. The courſe of theſe trade winds about the tropic of cancer, being to the *northward* of eaſt, implies a *great vacancy* made in thoſe *lower* latitudes where theſe winds are only at *eaſt*; and as the air in thoſe parts is moſt rarified and ſwelled, ſuch vacancy can only happen from the air's riſing; particularly as the ſea there keeps the heat at a tolerable equilibrium, and vapour may be ſuppoſed to increaſe the volume of air. — 3°. Only about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the equator appears to paſs over land; the reſt extending *along water*, much of which water is therefore in the way of the heated air's imbibing *.—4°. A ſmall thin ſtream of air, paſſing through colder air, would quickly loſe its heat; but where a *vaſt maſs of warm air* riſes, (ſuch as a ſegment of the atmoſphere,) though the *outer* parts of it that occaſionally touch colder foreign bodies may be ſpeedily cooled, yet the circumſtances of the ſituation and expoſure only can be expected to cool the *inner* parts. Thus, the vaſt maſs of waters heated by the tropical ſun in the Atlantic, and driven by the tropical winds in a heap towards the bay of Mexico, (where it becomes ſtill more heated from being ſtationary, and this amid ſurrounding hot lands;) when it comes to run itſelf off through the gulph of Florida, carries ſo much heat along with it, that Dr. Franklin found it at 81° ‡

† [Such as the being diſturbed by the neighbourhood or removal of the fluid in the regions below (which may be ſuppoſed moving about there in clouds or otherwiſe;) or the being forced to undergo a freſh diſtribution from the local increaſe or diminution of its quantity; or the being affected by undulations in the atmoſphere, (amounting not only to mere change of poſition in the fluid, but to an alteration of the ſize of the reſervoirs in which it is confined;) with perhaps various other circumſtances. E.]

* [The proportion of land to water is indeed greater in the other parts of the tropics. E.]

‡ [In the tropics *eaſtward* of the Weſt Indies, at the ſame ſeaſon, it has been found only at 77° (of Fahrenheit.) E.]

in

in Nov. 1776, when croſſing it in his voyage from Philadelphia to France. For though the ſides and bottom of this great water-current undoubtedly loſe heat, by mixing with colder waters; yet the inner parts (not being able to cool *each other*) retain their heat much longer; and in fact, as Dr. Franklin has farther obſerved, preſerve a conſiderable ſhare of it up to the banks of Newfoundland. ——5°. How ſlowly *ſituation* operates here, appears from conſidering that this water-current travels only at the *rate* of five or ſix miles an hour in the gulph itſelf, and at about two miles an hour perhaps near Virginia; becoming not only ſlower as it goes on, but thinner (i. e. ſhallower) and broader alſo in ſurface; and yet the diſtance to Newfoundland is in all perhaps 1300 miles. The ſame concluſion is to be drawn from the ſea's remaining liquid, or at $28\frac{1}{2}°$ of heat *, very high up in the polar circles, and within 12 or 15 degrees of the pole to the north: And the ſame appears from hot blaſting † winds being found at a great diſtance from the places where they are formed; and the ſame, from many of our cold winds.—6°. The *actual* warmth and moiſture of the higher air in the tropics, is ſeen from clouds (or uncondenſed vapour) often exiſting at much greater heights, than thoſe at which mountains, from their ſituation, remain perpetually covered more or leſs with ſnows; and the ſame appears alſo in the lower air in the northern regions, when ice-mountains there find means to condenſe local fogs and clouds out of the air around them.——7°. The maſs of warm air coming from the equator may, from the loſs at its edges, ſhrink much in general ſize; and yet, as it had filled the larger degrees of longitude at the equator, ſtill occupy great proportional room in the ſmaller degrees of longitude at the pole. —— 8°. The *ſurface of the earth in the polar circles* being only about $\frac{1}{11}$ part of what the temperate and tropical zones contain, the maſs of cold air there will be found ſmaller upon compariſon than ſuſpected; and confirm ſection 6, particularly when it is conſidered, that though theſe parts of the *earth* are placed for ſuch long periods immoveably in the ſhade, yet the *air* above them is very fluctuating, new ſucceſſions of it pouring in on every ſide from parts that are more enlightened.—9°. It would be well to conſider to *what bodies* above,

* [At this degree Mr. Nairne has found that *ſea water* begins to depoſit its ſalt, and congeal. E.]

† [As this hot air does not immediately quit the earth, I ſhould conjecture that it is *dry* air, for *vapour* would ſeem to make it more buoyant, and carry it upwards from the ſurface. Accordingly theſe very winds are ſuppoſed to have become heated over dry ſandy deſarts; and though in ſome caſes they paſs over a narrow ſea, yet they do not immediately perhaps acquire much humidity; the air not always appearing to imbibe humidity from the ſea itſelf in the firſt inſtance, but chiefly from the vapour emitted by means of the ſea's own proper heat, which heat is very inferior to that of the winds in queſtion. E.]

the

the riſing air can *loſe its heat*; there being none that are maſſy in ſo rare a medium, and the lighter ones may poſſibly be thought by this period of time proportionably ſaturated with heat.——10°. The particles of air as ſoon as they become cold, appear to *deſcend*; not to riſe again, till again properly heated: and thoſe that were before cold, never riſe while they continue ſo: And the winds which blow up to the poles, if they continue to blow on, muſt turn the poles and blow down into milder latitudes.——11°. The atmoſphere being much the denſeſt near the earth, whatever warms the firſt three or four miles in depth, reckoned from the ſurface, warms *half* of the *whole maſs of air* ſurrounding the globe.——12°. But if notwithſtanding this, (and what Dr. Franklin has ſaid in p. 197-8. of his Letters,) there be thought no ſuch circulation in the atmoſphere as above deſcribed; then we may ſtill ſuppoſe that moiſt heated air may riſe or be moved forwards at certain ſeaſons from the more *temperate* latitudes. The heat of Jamaica is rarely equal to that occaſionally known at Peterſburgh: And Dr. Franklin's theory is more intereſted in the event towards the pole, than in fixing the origin at the equator.——13°. What is ſaid here of the northern hemiſphere, applies, *mutatis mutandis*, one may ſuppoſe to the *ſouthern*; for if the ſun's heat penetrates leſs on that ſide the line, the cold there extends ſo much farther from the pole, &c. and *vice versâ**. E.]

[§ 14. " The earth, in temperate and warm climates, is ge-" nerally fit to receive electricity ſtriking ſuddenly from the clouds:" or if that ſhould be too *dry* at top, its waters, trees, buildings, &c. which reach down to the moiſter parts. E.]

* [Dr. Forſter was for three different *warm* ſeaſons in or near the *ſouthern polar circle*, and obſerved in one of theſe ſeaſons ſeven different auroras in latitudes 58° and 60°; their appearance being much the ſame as with us, ſhooting up from a dark ſegment in the ſouth. This number is but ſmall; but he ſays that he had never read or heard of any perſon who had before ſeen them. Indeed the navigators in thoſe parts have been few; and it is to be ſuppoſed chiefly during the ſummer ſeaſon.

As to the *auroræ auſtrales*, or ſouthern lights, as they are called, ſeen in our *own* latitudes; They are hardly to be ſuppoſed to have *reached hither from the ſouthern hemiſphere*; ſince our own northern lights are only now and then obſerved ſo low down as in the Mediterranean countries. The ſuppoſition alſo is too hazarded, to ſay that they are formed over inſulating *dry* ground to the ſouthward. If there is no miſtake therefore in the relation of them, they may be gueſſed to be owing to electric matter *propagated along the vacuum*, but originating as to its ſource, in the north; that origin however being either faint, or having taken place during daylight, or under the ſcreen of clouds.——(See Dr. Forſter's Obſervations in a voyage round the world, p. 120, and the Philoſ. Tranſ. for 1764, p. 326-8.) E.]

[† § 17. Dr. Franklin very early obſerved that a *dry* cake of ice, or an iſicle, would not conduct a ſhock. But this was in America: Our ice here is ſeldom ſo perfectly frozen in our experiments. (See his Letters, 5th edit. p. 36.) E.]

[‡ § 18.—"Snow upon frozen ground, driven about by the "wind, retains its electricity."—Profeſſor Winthrop mentions a ſingular fact of this kind to Dr. Franklin, which happened at Cambridge in New England, in latitude 42°, where the *air above* became electrified. See Dr. Franklin's Letters, 5 edit. p. 444. E.]

[† § 20. —"electricity *deſcending* with that ſnow."—If one may preſume to queſtion this wonderful man, I would aſk, Why the redundant electricity ſhould riſe only from the ſnow and hail that has actually *deſcended*; and not from the ſame ſnow and hail while forming in the air? Is not every thing ſuppoſed ſaturated, and therefore repellent, below; and is not the diſtance ſhorter from that part of the air where the clouds are, to the vacuum, than from the ice to the vacuum; and does not the fluid thus avoid *much* the denſeſt, and conſequently moſt reſiſting portion of all the air, namely, that which lies between the ice and the clouds? In ſhort, why may we not leave room for every circumſtance to operate, that can poſſibly diſentangle electricity from theſe bodies while in the regions of the air, inſtead of confining ourſelves to what happens on the mere ſurface of the earth? May not a cloud as neceſſarily lighten *up* into the *conducting vacuum* in thoſe latitudes, for inſtance, as here (where it has both ways to chooſe) it generally prefers to lighten *down* into the *conducting earth* * ?

But perhaps it ſeemed to be doubted whether the cold is not at ſome ſeaſons too great for the exiſtence of clouds (or in other words of uncondenſed vapours) in theſe latitudes; as it certainly ſeems to be for the formation of deep ſprings.—But if there *be* a latitude in which on account of the cold, there are at no time clouds; in that latitude there can be at no times ſnow or hail, (or even ice, unleſs produced before the preſent arrangement of the earth;) and conſequently no electricity can there be brought down, and no ſurcharge of it exiſt. And in ſuch caſe there would be a bound, beyond which, at that ſeaſon the aurora would not *originate*.— On the other hand, ſhould the clouds be permitted in any quantity to empty themſelves

* [See the 4th quere in the note to article 28.—The only objection ſeems to be, that in the former caſe the diſtance may be too great for a *ſtroke*; ſo that one ſtratum of fluid muſt be heaped on the back of another, before it can get near enough to the vacuum even for a *gradual* diſcharge. E.]

on

on a cold portion of earth, where the ſun could not melt their contents back again; we might then expect a proportional diminution of our waters, and as far as that cauſe goes, a correſpondent addition to our land, as well as—but in a caſe of ſpeculation only, it is time to ſtop. E.]

‡ [§ 22. "The froſt continues ſufficiently intenſe for inſulation "10 degrees from the pole."—I apprehend that Dr Franklin here ſtraightens his own theory; and that, at certain ſeaſons at leaſt, and upon land, it extends much farther, even in the northern hemiſphere. For confirmation ſee the note to § 18. E.]

‖ [§ 22 —"Height of the atmoſphere of the poles of ſuch denſity "as to obſtruct the *motion* of the electric fluid, &c." It is I believe generally agreed that within certain diſtances from the earth, whatever rarity the air has at a certain height, at twice that height it is twice as rare, at three times the height four times as rare: The height going in an arithmetical, and the rarity in a geometrical proportion, hand in hand. Thus if the air at the *equator* was found almoſt twice as rare at three miles high as at the earth's ſurface there, we may poſſibly ſuppoſe it entirely ſo at the *pole*: Then at the pole, the air at ſix miles high will be four times as rare as at the ſurface, at nine miles eight times, at 12 miles 16 times, at 28 miles 600 times, and at 40 miles 10,000 times as rare. Our moſt perfect air-pump, on the other hand, rariſies mere air only 600 times (though air *mixed with vapour*, it rariſies 10 or 20,000 times,) And it is ſufficiently known how eaſily the electric fluid traverſes this and other vaſtly leſs perfect vacuums of art:—Whether more or leſs rapidly, provided it be done at all, is of little conſequence to the theory: only it is to be conjectured, that the higher the fluid reaches, the eaſier becomes its paſſage, at leaſt under certain limitations —As to the *ſhooting* of the fluid *along* the vacuum, as ſoon as arrived there; it is a ſubſequent and totally diſtinct operation.

But perhaps the above meaſure is exaggerated for the pole. And, though it is not ſafe to go minutely into the queſtion, yet the atmoſphere itſelf, ſeems uſually thought too far extended upwards; as the very *gravity* of the particles of air for inſtance towards the earth (which is a body ſo large and maſſy,) may be ſuppoſed powerful enough to overbalance their repulſion to each other when they act at ſuch vaſt diſtances, and from ſuch *points* of repulſive matter only, as ſuch rarity implies.

When the aurora is ſtated by ſome, to have riſen to the *immenſe height* of hundreds of miles, becauſe ſeen through an immenſe extent of country; ſuch concluſion ought to be made from particular *marks* which the phænomenon has afforded, for tracing and identifying it through different regions; For as to a mere confuſed illu-

mination of the heavens, " though ſeen in places 1000 leagues " aſunder, this might as well be owing to its being very extenſive, " as very high ;"--Which are nearly words uſed by Dr. Franklin to Mr. Bartram, upon the ſubject of an aurora ſuppoſed to have been viſible both in Philadelphia and London. (See Cotes's Lectures, Ulloa's Voyage, The accounts given by Meſſieurs Smeaton and Nairne of their air-pumps, Ferguſon's Aſtronomy, article 175, Muſſchenbroek's Introd. ad Phil. Natur. art. 2502, and Philoſ. Tranſ. for 1752, p. 474.) E.]

[* § 23. " The vacuum above is a good conductor."--By a vacuum here, we are not perhaps peremptorily to underſtand the intire abſence of air ; but a ſituation only where the air is thought ſufficiently rare to ſuffer the fluid to paſs eaſily, rapidly, and conſpicuouſly along.

Under this head, the following ſhort remarks may poſſibly be of uſe.—When a given ſubſtance conducts the fluid away from a charged body, the attraction afforded by the conductor is aſſiſted by the repulſion of the fluid ; the fluid running through the conductor, from one particle to another, till an equilibrium is obtained.--When this operation takes place in *Air*, the chief difficulty conſiſts, not in making the fluid ſenſible of the attraction of the conductor, but in getting the better of the oppoſition given to its paſſage by the air.--But in *Vacuums* where the latter difficulty is almoſt wholly removed, then an improper diſpoſition of the attracting ſubſtances ſoon begins to be felt ; ſo that for inſtance, it will be much eaſier for the fluid to paſs a given diſtance if thrown into a dozen ſmall intervals with conductors between, than to paſs the ſame ſum of diſtance thrown into one large interval with the conducting ſubſtances all at the hither end : Juſt as it is eaſier for a man (who has only a certain activity) to leap twelve ditches of ten feet each ſucceſſively, than to leap one large ditch of 120 feet at once.--It is difficult however to determine by common experiments to what diſtance theſe intervals in given caſes in vacuo, are to be limited. When Meſſieurs Walſh and De Luc for inſtance found that in an *arched* double-barometer, in which the quickſilver had been carefully boiled, in order to purge it from air, no ſhock or ſpark could be tranſmitted ; it might have been obſerved that attraction acting in ſtraight lines, or at leaſt in uniform directions, the curve of the barometer would prevent the operation there ; for how could the quickſilver in the leg B * move the fluid (ſuppoſed low down) on the ſurface of the quickſilver in the leg A ? It could not draw it through the ſides of the tubes ; nor could it act upon it round by

* See the Plate, p. 522.

way

way of the curve; for then it muſt attract in oppoſite directions, firſt *up* the leg A, and then *down* the leg B: Its powers of attraction therefore being thrown away, the fluid remains at reſt with reſpect to them. But when a few conducting particles become in time introduced * into the tube, the fluid is attracted round from particle to particle, till it turns the corner and falls in the way of the other leg's attraction.—So alſo, when, in a *ſtraight* barometer (exhauſted with the ſame care) an attempt to charge the top of it by a coating on the outſide, is ſaid to fail from the too-perfect vacuum giving no aſſiſtance within; may it not be ſuppoſed owing to the inequality of the contention between attracting particles that are ſmall enough to *continue ſuſpended* in ſo rare a medium, when oppoſed to the attraction of the maſſy glaſs?

In the *heavens* however, where there is neither curved tube, nor perhaps much diſproportion in the forces of the attracting bodies, the motion of the fluid may be expected to take place at greater intervals: And it may be thought perhaps that the mere *repulſion* of the fluid, without much help from the few attracting bodies that are to be found there, is ſufficient for a diſperſion to enſue; eſpecially as the fluid may be ſaid originally perhaps rather to have been *expelled*, than to have been *conducted* thither. E.]

[† § 26. "Would not the auroras become more frequent *after* "*the approach of winter?*"—Muſſchenbroek reckons up 750 appearances of the aurora, which he had obſerved in 29 years; and it ſeems, from his table, (taking it without any comments as it ſtands) that they are moſt frequent at the cloſe of winter; They are the next frequent at the cloſe of ſummer; fewer in winter; and feweſt at the winter and ſummer ſolſtices: $\frac{1}{7}$ of the whole number averaged, having appeared in the May months, and only $\frac{1}{12}$ in the June and the December months each.——But theſe meteors being made *jointly* to depend on a degree of inſulation in the earth, &c. on the one hand, and of moiſture in the air on the other; it does not ſeem enough perhaps to look only to the perfection of the ice, &c. and its after-ſaturation, with other circumſtances, in the north; but we muſt alſo attend to the moiſture to be raiſed and imported from the ſouth; Which moiſture coming ſometimes perhaps along the higher regions of the atmoſphere from more diſtant parts, and ſometimes along the ſurface of the earth from more contiguous parts, to the places where the inſulation takes place, the ſeaſons of appearance may hence be affected.—The auroras I would obſerve, appear moſt at the periods when the moiſture or cold reſpectively may

* [In our common experiments, Mr. Nairne has proved that much vapour is left or generated in what is called a vacuum; and indeed the fact is perhaps to be explained upon theory. E.]

be thought each at their maximum; but as they prevail moſt when the effects of the *cold* may be conceived uſually moſt complete, one ſhould hence ſuppoſe the cold neceſſary for their formation was harder to procure, than ſimple moiſture. E.]

[‡ § 27. "The atmoſphere of the polar regions being denſe, "and its moiſture frozen, will not any light therein appear to us as "a ſegment of a circle, darkiſh in colour, &c." I once thought that Dr. Franklin intended a diſtinction here between that *ſettled light*, ſo often ſeen from theſe latitudes in the northern part of our horizon; as oppoſed to thoſe *moveable figured* lights, which come to be deſcribed in the next paragraph under the head of *rays:* In this caſe the ſettled light is only conſidered as ariſing from the illumination of the *atmoſphere*, by *other* rays, which are leſs elevated or farther northward, and themſelves not diſtinctly ſeen; the atmoſphere being ſtated to be denſe, as more reflecting and better refracting that light; and clear, as better tranſmitting it, as well as the light of the ſtars beyond.—But if Dr. Franklin is here deſcribing (which is moſt probable) that *dark part* of the heavens ſeen at the foot of the ſalient points of the ſeveral rays to the north; then perhaps the cauſe is only owing to that part of the heavens below the rays, (that is, below the height where the fluid begins to be luminous) being rendered dark by the *contraſt* with this light. If a tangent is drawn to the globe in our latitudes, and that tangent produced towards the north, the elevation of it with reſpect to the polar air is very conſiderable; not however greater than that, which ſome philoſophers have at times, attributed to the auroras. But if the auroras ſhould be held to originate at any time, or at leaſt firſt to *become viſible*, at any diſtance from the pole; the whole will ceaſe to be a difficulty. E.]

[* § 28 and 24. "The rays of electric matter *diverge*, &c."—Such rays undoubtedly may diverge from repellency, when they arrive in the enlarged degrees of longitude. They would alſo by the laws of optics, appear near together at their farther ends in the north, even though really parallel: Like the *parallel* rays of the ſun; which appear near together towards the ſun, wide over the ſpectator's head, and converging again if they paſs the ſpectator and get to the oppoſite parts of the horizon; (which laſt caſe Dr. Smith in his Optics, mentions to have ſeen; as I have indeed done myſelf, more than once.)—Perhaps however, the degree of ſeparation of the rays in the aurora, depends much on the poſition of the attracting conductors at their hither end: Though I have obſerved lights ſhooting along a remarkably *crooked* track in the heavens, at diſtant repeated times, owing apparently to the poſition of a particular ſet of *intermediate* conductors. E.]

[§ 28,

[† § 28. " —and thus form the *crowns*, as they are called, and " other figures mentioned in the hiſtories of this meteor."—As to thoſe lights which ſeem to have a center *near our zenith*, perhaps they are thus diſpoſed, in conſequence of the roving fluid (extended northward and ſouthward, eaſtward and weſtward, through the vaſt and general vacuum) being now brought to a focus by a conductor; thence to ſink into humid air below as into a quenching * pit of darkneſs; or (which is the caſe of Dr. Franklin's *crown*) to ſally forth again to ſome new conductor aloft.

But I muſt here beg to introduce ſome queries. 1°. Why ſhould our hiſtories ſpeak of this *center* of general convergence, as being uſually to the *ſouthward* of our zenith here? Is it owing to local moiſtneſs in the atmoſphere there, from ſeas or wet land below; or to that being uſually the latitude, where the fluid in its progreſs firſt meets with humidity † frequent and *elevated* enough to attract it? 2°. Is it again from local incidents that the auroras are uſually obſerved at Upſal in Sweden to appear to the weſtward of north; and in Greenland and Hudſon's Bay, to the *eaſt* or ſouthward of eaſt, but never to the *north*ward or north-eaſt ‡?—3°. Is the alleged fact of the *ſuſpenſion of theſe appearances*, for ſeveral ages, at different periods in our latitudes; and the great frequency of them for theſe 50 or 60 years paſt; to be at all held connected with the ſuppoſitions of ſome of our beſt philoſophers, that there are accounts which beſpeak *warmer weather in former times to the* NORTH, than is uſual now; with a conſequent diminution of the ice, &c. both as to its extent, and its perfection as a non-conductor, &c.? Or are we to take oppoſite ſuppoſitions; and ſay that the earth's growing warmer of late, in ſome parts, has enabled humid air to penetrate higher up, to ſpots fitted for the formation of the auroras? 4°. The above place of obſervation in Greenland, being in latitude 65°, and in Hudſon's Bay at 59°, are we to ſuppoſe that the aurora *originates* in thoſe or rather in ſtill lower latitudes; or does the fluid only *travel* thither from the north, remaining inviſible till attended with particular circumſtances? 5°. To determine this, ought not experiments to be made in rarified air, both dry and vapory, denſer and rarer, pure and impregnated, cold and hot: and ought we not to be able to ſay

* [This is a ſtrong expreſſion; but when the fluid moves naked in any quantity and without a conductor, it is as far as we know, *luminous*; and when it enters a ſufficient and attracting conductor, its light as far as we know is directly *extinguiſhed*. E.]

† [This convergence to the ſouth of the zenith is, by ſome, ſolved into a mere *optical* appearance. (See Rownings's Natural Philoſophy, Vol. I. part 2. p. 164-7.) In point of fact, the rays rarely come *diverging* from the north. E.]

‡ [See the Philoſ. Tranſ. for 1762, p. 479; Krantz's Account of Greenland, Vol. I. p. 48; and the Philoſ. Tranſ. for 1770, p. 130-1.—The *light* of the greater part of theſe auroras ſeen in Upſal and Greenland ſeem to *commence* from about the quarter of Iceland. E.]

preciſely, on what circumſtances the *colours* of the auroras depend; imitating them in their *diffuſed* form, at pleaſure and ſeparately, in our apparatus *? 6°. Should not the meteor be watched at different ſeaſons of the year, at different times of the night, in different weathers †, and in different countries; particularly with reſpect to its ſtrength duration and frequency, its colours, its quarter of appearance, and the height both of its center and ſegment mentioned above: and future obſervations be compared with former hiſtories. 7°. Mr. Canton having in a beautiful theory aſcribed the regular diurnal horizontal aberration of the needle to local heat ‡; then obſerves that the *irregular* diurnal variation may be alike owing to heat in the north; which at the ſame time that it affects the needle, appears to produce an aurora. As he adds that the aurora is ſaid by the northern people to be remarkably ſtrong when a *ſudden* thaw happens after ſevere cold; I would aſk whether this may not ariſe from warm humid wind, then blowing towards the frozen parts, to accumulate electricity upon the ſurface? 8°. Would it not be a confirmation of this, ſhould "hard ſoutherly or ſouthweſt winds" be often obſerved to follow in the Engliſh channel after an aurora? If the cauſe of ſuch gales begins firſt in the north, the air to the ſouthward cannot begin to move till the northern air has *firſt* left a vacancy; and as ſuch a ſucceſſive propagation in another caſe was conceived by Dr. Franklin to be capable of being made at the rate of 100 miles an hour; will it not be a farther coincidence, if the above gales appear in our channel within 24 or 30 hours after the commencement of the aurora ‖?—9°. At all events, are we not provided

* [If a paſſage in a more perfect vacuum is attempted, it might be well to make the vacuum of a broad flat ſhape, ſo as to afford a ſhort tranſit and much ſpace. E.]

† [The nearer the place of obſervation is to the origin of the aurora and the *commencement of its light*, the more important it ſeems to remark the weather, winds, &c. and the face of the earth in thoſe parts, as being made up of ſea or land, &c. E.]

‡ [The virtues of bodies that are magnetical, being diminiſhed during heat; Mr. Canton ſuppoſes that the eaſtern parts of the earth being firſt heated by the morning ſun, the inclination of the needle is therefore ſtrongeſt towards the *weſt* during the morning; after the turn of the day, it becomes ſtationary; and in the evening it returns eaſtward, the weſtern parts now poſſeſſing more heat, and therefore leſs attraction. And this *regular* variation is, as might be expected, greater in ſummer than in winter. — The *irregular* variation he attributes to ſubterraneous heat in the earth; which earth heating the air, might produce the aurora, which he ſays "*is ſuppoſed* to be the electricity of the heated air above;" and he adds, "This will appear chiefly in the northern regions, as the alteration in the heat of "thoſe parts will be greateſt." — See the Philoſ. Tranſ. for 1759, p. 403. E.]

‖ [This muſt be allowed a local circumſtance; but as Mr. Winn, who obſerves it, ſays, that the knowledge of it has enabled him to make uſe of or avoid the gale, would it not be well to obſerve farther (after confirming the remark) if there is not ſometimes a correſpondence between the quarter of the brighter auroras, and the quarter of the ſucceeding gale, if any ſuch takes place; as alſo between the violence of the gale compared with the time of the *interval* before its commencement. See the Philoſ. Tranſ. for 1774, p. 128. E.]

with

with *one* cauſe of the auroras? And during our preſent imperfect knowledge, not only of the principles, but even of the events of the atmoſphere; are our conjectures to be expected exact in all their minutiæ; and is not every thing to be received with candour, that is propoſed with diffidence, particularly where nothing is aſſumed, but to ſuggeſt materials?

It is however time to finiſh theſe queries and comments; which I do with the ſincereſt apology. It is ſeldom that I have been able to follow Dr. Franklin with any thing but admiration, but his own modeſt invitation to gueſſers has here tempted me into imprudence. And to ſay the truth, as his conjectures were novel and incomplete, I wiſhed to prevent or moderate objections from thoſe, who venerate and love him ſomewhat leſs than I do; and who may not perhaps have adverted to the views and circumſtances of their publication. E.]

* [The following paragraph ſtands in the original manuſcript with a ſingle line drawn through it. As I conceive no other reaſon for this, than its being merely a general meteorological remark, that ariſes out of the fundamental principle of this ſyſtem of the auroras, but relates not to the aurora itſelf; I have here in a note reſtored it, to be in time carried to its proper place. § 29. 'If it 'be true that the clouds which go to the polar regions, and carry 'thither the vapors of the equatorial and temperate regions, [have 'their] vapors condenſed by the extreme cold of the polar regions, 'and fall in ſnow or hail; the winds which come from thoſe regions 'ought to be generally dry, unleſs they gain ſome humidity by 'ſweeping the ocean in their way. And if I miſtake not, the winds 'between the north eaſt and the north weſt, are for the moſt part 'dry, when they have continued for ſome time.'

Perhaps this may be a fit place to introduce another remark by Dr. Franklin, which has juſt occurred to my notice. Mr. Winn (in the letter quoted above p. 520, and which was addreſſed to Dr. Franklin) had ſtated that ſince he had firſt made the obſervation concerning ſouth or ſouth weſt winds ſucceeding an aurora, he had found it invariably obtaining in twenty-three inſtances; and he adds in a farther note, dated Jan. 22, 1773, a freſh confirming inſtance. Dr. Franklin then makes the following conjecture:—'The *Aurora* '*Borealis*, though viſible almoſt every night of clear weather in the 'more northern regions and very high in the atmoſphere; can ſcarce 'be viſible in England, but when the atmoſphere is pretty clear of 'clouds for the whole ſpace between us and thoſe regions; and there- 'fore are ſeldom viſible here.—This extenſive clearneſs may have 'been produced by a long continuance of northerly winds. When 'the winds have long continued in one quarter, the return is often

'violent.

violent. Allowing the fact ſo repeatedly obſerved by Mr. Winn, perhaps this may account for the violence of the ſoutherly winds, that ſoon follow the appearance of the aurora on our coaſts.' (See the Phil. Tranſ. for 1774, p. 132.) E.]

[P. S. A perſon, whoſe name carries ſome authority with it, having doubted *whether clouds ever fly higher than the point of congelation ſeen upon mountains*, I ſhall confirm my aſſertion from the evidence of thoſe employed in meaſuring an equatorial degree on the mountains of Peru.——Twenty-three days in particular were ſpent on Pichinca ſummit, about whoſe elevation congelation uſually began; and here they ſaw not only ice, but ſnow almoſt daily, as alſo *hail* (which hail from the nature of its formation muſt have been previous rain that had congealed on its paſſage;) and the fogs or clouds that uſually inveloped this and other like ſituations, neceſſarily obliged them to place their ſignals on lower elevations. Even Cotopaxi itſelf was covered with ice and ſnow; and Chimboraço (ſtill higher than Cotopaxi) was ſeen by M. Bouguer with clouds above it, $1\frac{1}{3}$ mile from the congelation point; the height of no mountain M. Bouguer had ſeen, being ſufficient to diſcover what he calls "the *upper* * term of congelation," or ceaſing of ſnow, &c.

The fact being eſtabliſhed, I would thus endeavour to account for it.—It is well known that more of the ſun's rays will be received upon a given ſurface, in proportion as that ſurface is preſented to the rays at right angles, inſtead of obliquely: So that if a wooden pin were ſtuck perpendicularly in the ground in the way of the ſetting ſun, the proportion between the length of the pin and its ſhadow, would truly repreſent this difference; for if the pin were re-

* [See the plate; and the Engliſh tranſlation of Ulloa, Vol. I. p. 230-2, 235, and 460-1 (the ſenſe of which latter paſſage however ſeems miſinterpreted.)

Phipps's voyage indeed (p. 69-71) gives an account of mountains far within the polar circle, that were covered with ice and ſnow below, but left *bare at the top*: But this was during autumn: and Maupertuis obſerved under the polar circle, that the firſt appearance of thaw in ſpring time, was upon certain high *points*, which ſhewed themſelves "like mountains after the deluge;" (owing to the free action of the ſun in part, alſo to drifting winds, and to the warmer air above probably not being chilled by an approach to the *colder level* of the earth.) But the abſence of the ſnow here was clearly not for want of *clouds*; for Captain Phipps ſays he never remembers obſerving the ſky in theſe latitudes, without ſeeing it *loaded with hard white clouds*: And in Hudſon's Bay, the air is ſeldom or ever clear for 24 hours; having clouds in it when the thermometer has remained 19 days below the 0 of Fahrenheit, and was once 43° below it, (the winds at the time chiefly blowing over cold *land* of immenſe extent, without their contents congealing in the courſe of their vaſt travels from the warm *ſea* whence they were procured.)

Clouds then appear not only *above* the point of congelation on mountains taken vertically, but *beyond* it taken horizontally at certain ſeaſons towards the poles. E.]

moved,

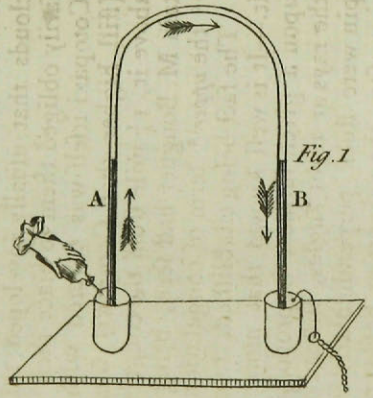


Fig. 1

Fig. 2.

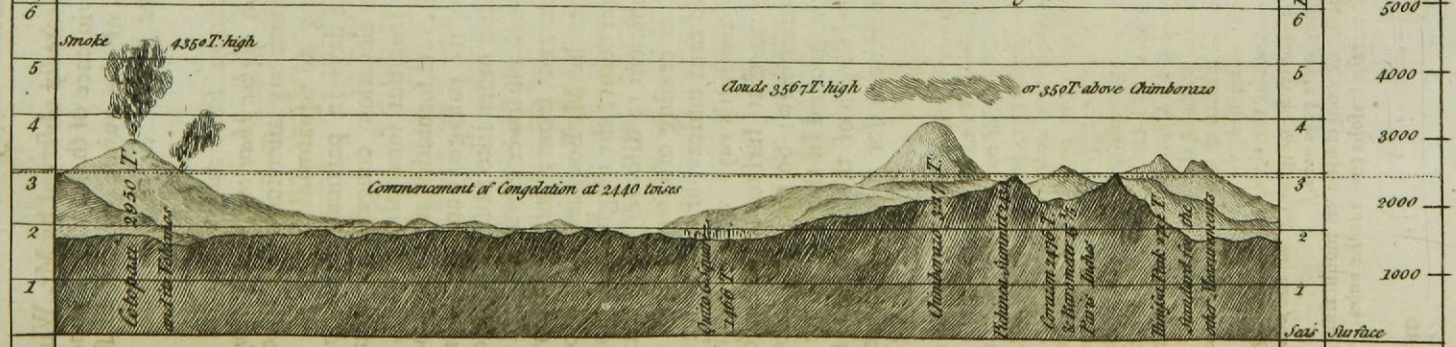


Fig. 2. Section & Profile of certain Mountains near the Equator in Peru; with the representation of the height at which congelation begins upon them; and Clouds flying 1⅓ Mile above that height; Taken from M. Bouguer's Figure de la Terre p. xliv *et seq'* cx, *and 124 &c.*

moved, the long horizontal ſurface now covered by the ſhadow, would have no more rays to enlighten it, than before fell ſingly on the pin. Again: tranſparent air, particularly when rare, is ſcarcely at all affected by the ſun's rays, though collected by a burning glaſs; abundantly leſs ſo than even tranſparent water; Tho' both ſuffer the rays to paſs through to heat other bodies, and then grow warm by communication with thoſe other bodies*.—Now all the moiſture of the earth would probably remain for ever frozen, were it not for the ſun; for thus (to mention only one proof at preſent) it happens in the polar circles, when the ſun is abſent, or even when his rays ſhoot ſeldom and obliquely. In the tropics however, where the ſun's rays fall more perpendicularly, and are withdrawn for ſhorter periods, and where they traverſe a ſhorter ſection of the atmoſphere; the earth's moiſture appears not only liquid, but warm.—If a *ſmall* declivity of ſurface appears in the tropics, that is not oppoſed to the ſun; that declivity may indeed receive few rays in proportion to its ſurface, and thence its ſurface have leſs power in heating the air; but as heat is communicated to it by contact with the neighbouring ſpots of ground, and by other air that is denſe and loaded with dark exhalations and that is heated in the courſe of a continued paſſage along an immenſe warm level of earth; the general ſurface of this ſmall declivity will appear but little cooler than other more level parts. If a *taller* eminence however occurs, ſuch as a towering mountain; whoſe ſides are neceſſarily very oblique to the ſun, and which can find no other land near it of the ſame level to communicate heat to it either by contact or by conſiderably warming the air that is to paſs over it, and which has its own air above both clear and rare; ſuch mountain in its higher parts will be found in its original freezing condition.—If therefore the *warm air* which Dr. Franklin ſuppoſes to *riſe from the ſea at the equator*, and having its humidity in a ſtate of tranſparent ſolution, comes near ſuch cold mountain; it will grow turbid and full of vapors or *clouds*; and if thoſe vapors are further condenſed and chilled, they will fall in hail or ſnow.—But it may be aſked, whether ſuch mountain will not gradually aſſume the temperature of the riſen air that ſurrounds it? I anſwer, that in a courſe of time this *may* happen; it may already have happened in part: but the change is very ſlow,

* [The ſun (other things being alike) has the appearance of acting *moſt* upon bodies that are *leaſt able* to reflect or tranſmit its rays, and its rays ceaſe in part to act as light when they begin to act as heat. But the common theory is, that heat conſiſting in inteſtine motion, the reflection of the ſun's rays backwards and forwards multiplies the number of times of their action, and increaſes this motion, and conſequently their heat. The atmoſphere however (the body in queſtion) is moſt heated by the ſun in its lower parts, when it is ſomewhat hazy. If it were clear, in the proportion of denſity in which it ſurrounds our earth, rays would be tranſmitted through it perhaps for hundreds of miles. E.]

for

for old as the world is grown, mountains of this deſcription are yet but a little way thawed up. Nor is this perhaps wonderful: The heat loſt by the air, when it depoſits its moiſture, is returned to the air in kind, when evaporation takes place upon the mountain, in conſequence of the thaw produced: Alſo when the ſnow is melted, it not only thus evaporates, but often pours down along the mountain's ſide, together with the heat that thawed it; As to the ſun's rays, the fogs intercept and carry away ſome of the few directed to its ſurface, and ice and ſnow reflect others: And bulk for bulk rare air poſſeſſes little heat; and what heat it has, ſnow (the body it chiefly meets with) is ſuppoſed not to conduct well*.

How little proportional heat is communicated by the *atmoſphere* to other bodies, is ſeen by the difference found in our climates between the north and ſouth walls of a houſe, by the coolneſs of the air itſelf in open caves and grottos, &c. &c. and in particular when the earth is covered with ſnow, we are told that it is very difficult for the froſt of the air to penetrate the ſoil. On the other hand, how extenſively though ſlowly, heat is communicated by contact from one particle of *earth* or *water* to another, will appear by ſome additional remarks and corollaries; which tend to prove that the earth's temperature generally taken depends wholly upon the ſun, and that without this particular heat the earth would remain for ever frozen.—1°. Springs and caves, that are free from minerals and tried at proper depths, ſeem to correſpond with the average-heat of the climate where they are found; the earth at certain depths ceaſing to obey the temporary changes of the ſun, and only retaining its average operation; or in other words the ſlow changing maſſes of the ſtrata below, deducting from or adding to the upper heat, juſt in proportion as the ſun's heat above exceeds or falls ſhort. — 2°. The ſea in the tropics is gradually colder as we have gone lower down: It is ſtill colder in the cold regions, but liquid as far as the ſounding line has gone; Though differing leſs in the proportion of heat between its ſurface and lower parts than in the tropics; for were the cold at bottom ever to produce congelation, the ice being ſpecifically lighter, muſt be expected to riſe, and while riſing would be melted again quickly by the ſea where it ſtill remained liquid,

* [See moſt particularly Dr. Franklin's theory of heat, p. 350-7, and 419-20. of his Letters, 5th ed.—If it be thought that the mountain ought to be heated by its contact with the ground *found at its baſe*; it muſt be recollected that the earth immediately *under* its baſe (which of courſe is very extended) is never ſhone upon; and that the parts *round* the baſe taken all together, are for very various reaſons leſs warm below than if there were no mountain near them. As we have never penetrated into the earth's bowels downwards more than one-third of the diſtance fixed by Ulloa for the point of congelation upwards at the equator, it is not to be expected that we can determine preciſely how high up the effect of contact ought to reach. E.]

and

and thence produce (what is ſeen) a pretty even temperature below*; The parts above being regulated by the mixed operation of climate, evaporation, agitation, and contact. — 3°. Though theſe effects depend upon the ſun, yet its light and rays do not penetrate 100 fathoms into the ſea, and not at all into land: conſequently the heat muſt be communicated by contact.—4°. I conjecture that the moiſture of the ground in our latitudes, by its conducting powers as to heat, is one principal cauſe of this extenſive diffuſion of warmth by land: for in India during a heat of 112° in the air, ice by being placed in a *dry* pit, in high ground, and ſurrounded with ſtraw and blanketting (both bad conductors of heat,) is kept unmelted within four or five yards of the ſurface. And I would aſk whether the *dryneſs* produced by *froſt* is not in this reſpect of the ſame nature with this dryneſs of ſoil ariſing from abſence of moiſture; and whether ice is not for various reaſons a worſe conductor of heat than water?—5°. In Siberia† the inner ſurface of the ground appears always frozen; a fact firſt intimated by the want of ſprings, and then diſcovered by inſpection in the courſe of digging for them; whence one may ſuppoſe that the medium temperature of the climate there for a great part of the year, is below the freezing point. —— 6°. The upper cruſt of the ſurface however, is with them for a few feet thawed in ſummer: as with us it is only to the ſame depth frozen in winter. — 7°. The difference of heat between day and night, winter and ſummer, and in different latitudes, all prove the ſun's omnipotence; the greater heat and cold (as might be expected where large maſſes are in queſtion) being always after the *turn* of the ſeaſon, &c.—8°. Mines appear to keep a ſimilar gradation of heat with that of the tropical ſeas: the inner ſurface here, after the ſeaſon has for ſome time turned, being reſpectively warmer or colder than the upper ſurface; (which ſame circumſtance is diſcovered in the temperature of the ſea at theſe times in uneven climates, when furrowed up by ſtorms.) It may be difficult however on account of mineral and artificial heats, the forced circulation of air, and the warmth of the miners bodies, to acquire a juſt notion of the temperature of mines, and therefore it would be beſt perhaps to examine the *water* iſſuing in them at different levels, provided it be pure‡: and

* [This perhaps (allowance being made for the form of the veſſel, to leave room for the aſſertion above) will help to explain whence it is, that if freſh water is ſet to freeze, the unfrozen reſiduum will always remain at 32°; though the cold is intenſe and equally applies to the water and the ice:—a fact noticed by that very accurate and modeſt experimenter, Mr. Nairne. E.]

† [The rivers of Siberia therefore have their origin in the ſouth, and go on fluid by means of their united maſſes to the north. In the north probably they *could not* have originated, or at leaſt have been perennial. E.]

‡ [Many miſtakes are daily made, even by philoſophical perſons, in taking the temperature of liquids:—The thermometer ſhould *remain immerged in them* at the moment

and even then, as ore probably conducts heat better than ſimple earth, we ſhould not perhaps acquire a perfect ſcale for the earth's temperature at different depths where there are no mines.—9°. It has been mentioned why the ſea is not found frozen at its bottom: Hitherto in temperate climates alſo our miners have no where met with ice by land; for hitherto our miners have no where penetrated ¼ of a mile below the heights where they have firſt entered.—10°. The air in the ſouthern hemiſphere has been found not to arrive at the ſame heat that is ſeen in correſponding ſituations in the northern one; not merely from the leſs comparative ſun it enjoys, though that is of weight; but owing, I believe (as Dr. Forſter has ſuggeſted) to the little land now proved to be there: and as I conceive for the following *reaſon*. The circulation of the ſea prevents its ſurface from being very warm, and conſequently its atmoſphere; And, as it prevents it alſo from being very cold, one might conjecture that it ought to produce a greater equality of temperature; ſo many and ſo deep waters (with moiſtened earth ſtill under) blending together through all their maſs, not only day and night, but latitudes and ſeaſons. Accordingly at Hudſon's Bay in *north* latitude 59°, while the thermometer has varied through the year 127 degrees; at Falkland's iſlands in *ſouth* latitude 53°, it has varied but 50 degrees: ſo that though there may be leſs *thaw* in the cold parts of the ſouthern hemiſphere, there ſeems to be leſs actual intenſity of cold*.—11°. There are other circumſtances which prove how powerful a ſecondary agent the ſea is, in modifying the atmoſphere on land: and particularly the general even ſtate of weather enjoyed by places which receive the ſea winds, and the extremities of ſeaſon in thoſe which receive the land winds; remarkably proved in middle latitudes (as Dr. Franklin has obſerved) where weſterly winds prevail, and render the weſtern coaſts of large tracts of ſuch land of an even temperature, but the eaſtern coaſts and middle territory of a very varying one; the ſurface of the earth in the one caſe ‡ preſerving all the natural inequalities of the ſun's operation, and the ſea in the other caſe removing it.—12°. If there be a point of perpetual congelation downwards, as there is upwards, and perhaps horizontally, then we need not fear leſt the waters of our globe ſhould leak away; for they may be

ment of obſervation, to avoid the cold from *evaporation*, which in the above experiments in particular caſes, would perhaps amount to three or four degrees. So when the heat of pumps or wells is tried, the water that has long been ſtanding at the top ſhould be removed, and the water be obtained freſh from the ſpring itſelf, through channels of a correſponding temperature. E.]

* [Dr. Forſter, who adapts a very different explanation from the above to the fact he had ſo happily pointed out, adds "if their ſummers are ſo cold, how cold "then muſt be their winters?" E.]

‡ [Owing to ſeveral cauſes probably. E.]

conſidered

conſidered as held in by an impenetrable frozen baſin of earth.—13°. Much has been ſaid of ſubterraneous fires by characters of high authority and late date: And it is true that there are a few volcanos and hot minerals, ſparſely ſcattered in a few countries; but they have little effect in warming atmoſphere, land, or ſea, directly contiguous to them; and to ſuppoſe that they have much influence in forming the general temperature of the globe, is like ſuppoſing that an immenſe plain, nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ covered with water, would be heated through its whole maſs, by here and there a bonfire or lime-kiln being placed within it. If the power of theſe volcanos extended even a few miles beyond the ſeat of their minerals and fumes, how happens it that the immenſe volcanos of Ætna and Cotopaxi, ſuffer a circle of eternal froſts and ſnows to ſurround their feet?—14°. For the ſun itſelf to have produced all the effects above mentioned, the preſent conſtitution of things muſt neceſſarily have long ſubſiſted.—As to the nature of its rays, whether conſiſting of emiſſions both of light and heat together; or of light ſingly and heat conſequentially; or whether the whole is in no ſort an emiſſion, but merely preſſure or communicated motion; this is not the proper moment for diſcuſſion: Perhaps there are optical difficulties attending the laſt of theſe ſolutions; and were the firſt to be held the true one, ſuch powerful heat being incorporated century after century with our globe, one might have expected the accumulation of it by this time to have arrived at prodigious extremes; the clear unequivocal progreſs of which could hardly have eſcaped the notice of hiſtory. Alterations in the ſurface of land excepted, from the deſtruction of foreſts, &c. perhaps the earth may now be held arrived at its maximum of heat; but when it is conſidered that perhaps $\frac{1}{20}$ part of the earth is ſtill in foreſt that is yet to be cut down, this ſource of freſh heat ſeems not to be overlooked: The conſequences attending which circumſtance, in another reſpect, have already been ſerious in the Weſt Indies; for *drought* in ſome caſes has followed the removal of foreſts, particularly the mountainous ones; becauſe the more naked ſoil receiving and emitting the ſun's heat better than the leaves and branches of trees, when the mountains become warmer from loſing their ſcreen, they are leſs able than formerly to precipitate vapors or clouds from the humid air: Hence in ſome of theſe places the inhabitants are ſaid to be taking meaſures to reſtore their foreſts, as in other wetter parts they are in haſte to have them removed.

I thought to have cloſed here, but a hint has juſt occurred to me, which I cannot but relate.—Volcanos even in the tropics, do not heat their ſides and necks, ſo as to prevent their being frozen; ſtill leſs then do they their roots: Suppoſe therefore a volcano in ſome northern

northern country, to be ſo high or cold, as to be inſulated by frozen ground below. This volcano will cauſe a heat perpendicularly and to great height over it in the air, not only becauſe its heat aſcends, but becauſe the heated vaporized air alſo aſcends: The column of air then correſponding to its baſe, being lighter than the neighbouring ones, muſt balance itſelf by being longer; and thence will ſtand like a pillar above the reſt. As the heat continues, may not the air then, which from the frozen face of the country is ſurcharged with electricity, flow in turn from the neighbouring ſurface to form a part of this ſucceſſive pillar, each particle bringing along with it its ſurcharge of electricity? And when arrived in turn at the pillar's ſummit, will not ſuch electricity have a better chance than in any other ſituation, for projecting itſelf towards the vacuum above; the pillar not only being thus elevated, but the heat poſſibly extending ſtill above? And the longer and fiercer the fire, will not the more electrical fluid in turn be tranſmitted?—*Iceland* is large, elevated, and in 65° of latitude; why may not a volcano of this deſcription be found in Iceland, and produce an *Aurora Borealis?* The appearances of ſome of our auroras about that iſland *, the frequent volcanos diſperſed through it, the fluſhings of their fire according with the fluſhings of the aurora, and the poſſibility of ſeeing what happens at conſiderable elevations in that quarter; ſeem to incline one to the hypotheſis. If our auroras have only *lately* appeared, the ſame may be the caſe with the volcano that has produced them; which volcano may ceaſe again, for the ſame reaſon that the volcano of Hecla has ceaſed. And if the aurora uſually is ſeen in the beginning of the night, and is brighteſt when thaw ſucceeds after cold; will not this correſpond with the idea that humid air is in itſelf fulleſt of electricity; and that as the thaw will be lateſt in affecting the high lands and ſome inclination to froſt may be ſuppoſed to attend there after the ſun firſt diſappears; the heated pillar of air may thence (at leaſt in certain ſtages) be well electrified, though the ground below, and perhaps other parts of the ſurrounding air above, may not yet have acquired conducting powers?—Suppoſe this matter were more obſerved.—Though there is but little land in the ſouth, Dr. Forſter was not in wide ſeas, but within a few days ſail of New Zealand, when he ſaw the auroras in that hemiſphere: Is there no lofty volcano then in New Zealand?—The *inſulation* of the volcano, it will be ſeen is eſſential to its operation; for were it allowed conducting powers, the whole ſurplus of electricity would ruſh through the fire and minerals, to the moiſtened earth and communicating ſeas: Hence as it would have ſpoiled Dr. Franklin's idea of a ſurcharge, I had always kept volcanos out of the theory; not having till lately adverted to the probability of the ſection of

* [See page 519, laſt note. E.]

their

their base being frozen throughout.—However as volcanos are said to require *water* to form their minerals into a paste, it is worth considering whence the water is to come, if frost helps * to insulate the volcano. I know no other solution than the following. If water were once allowed a remarkably mild season for penetrating into the mountain (and the difference of a few inches of thaw, or a chasm formed by an earthquake attending some neighbouring eruption, might effect this) the materials of the volcano might be put into order for an eruption; and an opening being once formed, the water might afterwards be supplied from without: for the Icelanders are said by experience to expect an eruption from a volcano, whenever the ice is formed in masses ready to drop into its crater; and the neighbouring summits might easily give this supply †.—But the whole of this is to be held as conjecture, till confirmed by better observation; for which reason it seems prudent not to venture at present upon any farther minutiæ.—It may be proper only to anticipate a considerable objection, relative to the *size of the aurora arc*, compared with the diameter of the crater; which perhaps is done by observing, that when the column of heated air rises to a certain situation, its repulsive force makes it expand and float on the top of the neighbouring columns; and the electric fluid it contains (already spread out by this operation) spreads itself abundantly wider by its own farther repulsion as it advances to rarer mediums; till at last it arrives at the diffusion observed when it first exhibits light. Indeed if the top of the pillar of air were not thus successively *removed*, the air below could no longer successively *rise*.

The facts taken notice of in the course of the notes upon this paper, it may be seen perhaps have other various and extensive applications, but it will be seen also that such applications have no claim to be found in this place. I shall therefore conclude with the following list of references confirming what has been stated in the postscript to these notes.——Ulloa, as before quoted, and vol. I. p. 246; Philosoph. Transf. for 1770, p. 147-9, 129, and 131; Priestley's Optics, p. 426-9; Philosoph. Transf. for 1776, p. 107; J. R. Forster's observations during a voyage round the world, p. 60. (confirmed by the journal of Mr. Bayley in the Adventure sloop) also, ibid. p. 98-99; Philos. Transf. for 1775, p. 459-462, with Martine's Essay on Thermometers, p. 222, and other facts; Phipps's Voyage toward the North pole, p. 141, 142-6, 147; Philosoph. Transf. for 1775, p. 253, compared with 257; Petersburg Memoirs;

* [There must be an absence of minerals, as well as moisture, where the insulation is. E.]

† [See Dr. Forster's observations during a voyage round the world, p. 121. compared with p. 10; Ulloa's very sensible theory of volcanos and earthquakes, vol. 2d. p. 87; and the Abbé Prevot's collection of voyages and continuation, Vol. 18. ch. 2d. and 3d. 4to edit. E.]

De Luc's Account of the mines in the Hartz foreſt in Germany, alſo Bergman's Phyſical Geography; and Muſſchenbroek's Introductio ad Phil. Natur. artic. 2299. E.]

[N. B. Since writing the above, *M. Mairan's Traité Phyſique et Hiſtorique de l'Aurore Boreale, 2nde edit.* has fallen into my hands.—The theory is ſingular perhaps, but the hiſtorical collection is elaborate and important. It poſſibly was to ſuperſede the neceſſity of this theory, that Dr. Franklin has ſuggeſted a cauſe for the frequent appearance of the auroras at the *approach* of winter: and I find by Mairan's table, that out of 1441 auroras which are recorded during 1168 years, 212 were ſeen in the months of October, and 202 in thoſe of March; which gives the preference to October, contrary to Muſſchenbroek, and conformable to Dr. Franklin.—Mairan alſo makes it clear that the auroras were *formerly very unfrequent*; inſomuch that the number which appeared from 1722 to 1751 incluſively, (amounting to 989 in only 30 years) more than doubles according to his table thoſe that had apeared during the ſpace of 1138 years before.—He ſeems alſo to have proved that the auroras are neither perpetual, ancient, nor unuſually brilliant towards the high latitudes in this *northern* hemiſphere; and that they are perhaps never ſeen in it at ſo low latitudes as 36°.—In the *ſouthern* hemiſphere, he confirms their appearance from Ulloa; who ſent him a very ſatisfactory account by letter, of ſome that he had ſeen in doubling the *land* at Cape Horne; and Frezier alſo appears to have ſeen the like in the ſame ſituation.—Reſpecting the *height* of the auroras, he exhibits a computation made by various philoſophers in various manners of certain particular ones, and ſtates the average of them at 175 leagues high (of which leagues 25 go to a degree); the loweſt being 47 leagues, and the higheſt 275 leagues: And in another place he computes the average of them at 200 leagues high, which is 8 degrees or 556 Engliſh miles.——See Mairan, p. 554; 547-554; 82-93; 379-389; 104, 437; 438-441; 56-7, 405-6, 412, 433-6: alſo Newton's Optics, Qu. 28.

To conclude; when I firſt read the above paper in May laſt, I thought I ſaw *true principles* contained in it, though I felt difficulties in their application. Upon a due conſideration however of the locality of the auroras, the irregular periods of their appearance, and the ſmall elevation of the atmoſphere; I find theſe difficulties to be inſuperable. I have therefore applied the ſame principles of "*electrically charged air*, and a *non-conducting earth*," to another hypotheſis; which ſeems to admit a nearer approximation to the truth. For various reaſons however, I make no alterations in the notes; which tend to eſtabliſh two ſingular facts; *viz.* that the *air* is moiſt and warm at unexpected heights above, and that the *earth* is frozen at unexpected depths below. July 1779. N.B. *Vide Addenda.* E.]

The

The body
Of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer,
(Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out,
And ſtript of its lettering and gilding)
Lies here, food for worms;
Yet the work itſelf ſhall not be loſt,
For it will (as he believed) appear once more
In a new
And more beautiful edition,
Corrected and amended
By
The Author *.

* [A news-paper, in which I have ſeen this copy of Dr. Franklin's *epitaph on himſelf*, ſays that it firſt appeared in a *Boſton news-paper* eſtabliſhed and printed by Dr. Franklin. E.]

APPENDIX;

Containing additional Papers proper for inſertion in the foregoing work.

[G. P.]

Rules for a Club formerly eſtabliſhed in Philadelphia ‡.

Previous queſtion, to be anſwered at every meeting.

HAVE you read over theſe queries this morning, in order to conſider what you might have to offer the Junto [touching] any one of them? viz.

'1. Have you met with any thing in the author 'you laſt read, remarkable, or ſuitable to be com- 'municated to the Junto? particularly in hiſtory, 'morality, poetry, phyſic, travels, mechanic arts, 'or other parts of knowledge.

‡ [This was an early performance; and carries along with it an air of ſingularity, accompanied with ſuch operative good ſenſe and philanthropy, as characterizes it for Dr. Franklin's. It did not come into my poſſeſſion early enough for inſertion in the body of the work; but it belongs to the diviſion of General Politics after p. 81. as the chief ends propoſed by it tend to the advancement of a State. —The club for which it was written, was held (as I have ſuppoſed) in Philadelphia; and if I am well informed was compoſed of men conſiderable for their influence and diſcretion; for though the chief meaſures of Penſylvania uſually received their firſt formation in this club, it exiſted for 30 years without the nature of its inſtitution being publicly known. E.]

 '2. What

'2. What new ſtory have you lately heard 'agreeable for telling in converſation?

'3. Hath any citizen in your knowledge failed 'in his buſineſs lately, and what have you heard 'of the cauſe?

'4. Have you lately heard of any citizen's 'thriving well, and by what means?

'5. Have you lately heard how any preſent 'rich man, here or elſewhere, got his eſtate?

'6. Do you know of any fellow citizen, who 'has lately done a worthy action, deſerving praiſe 'and imitation? or who has committed an error 'proper for us to be warned againſt and avoid?

'[7. What unhappy effects of intemperance 'have you lately obſerved or heard? of impru-'dence? of paſſion? or of any other vice or folly?

'8. What happy effects of temperance? of 'prudence? of moderation? or of any other virtue?]

'9. Have you or any of your acquaintance 'been lately ſick or wounded? If ſo, what reme-'dies were uſed, and what were their effects?

'10. Who do you know that are ſhortly going 'voyages or journies, if one ſhould have occaſion 'to ſend by them?

'11. Do you think of any thing at preſent, in 'which the Junto may be ſerviceable to *mankind?* 'to their country, to their friends, or to them-'ſelves?

'12. Hath

'12. Hath any deſerving ſtranger arrived in 'town ſince laſt meeting, that you heard of? and 'what have you heard or obſerved of his cha-'racter or merits? and whether think you, it lies 'in the power of the Junto to oblige him, or 'encourage him as he deſerves?

'13. Do you know of any deſerving young 'beginner lately ſet up, whom it lies in the power 'of the Junto any way to encourage?

'14. Have you lately obſerved any defect in 'the laws of your *country*, [of] which it would 'be proper to move the legiſlature for an amend-'ment? Or do you know of any beneficial law 'that is wanting?

'15. Have you lately obſerved any encroach-'ment on the juſt liberties of the people?

'16. Hath any body attacked your reputation 'lately? and what can the Junto do towards ſe-'curing it?

'17. Is there any man whoſe friendſhip you 'want, and which the Junto or any of them, can 'procure for you?

'18. Have you lately heard any member's cha-'racter attacked, and how have you defended it?

'19. Hath any man injured you, from whom 'it is in the power of the Junto to procure re-'dreſs?

'20. In what manner can the Junto, or any of 'them, aſſiſt you in any of your honourable de-'ſigns?

'21. Have you any weighty affair in hand, in 'which you think the advice of the Junto may be 'of ſervice †?

'22. What benefits have you lately received 'from any man not preſent?

'23. Is there any difficulty in matters of opi-'nion, of juſtice, and injuſtice, which you would 'gladly have diſcuſſed at this time?

'24. Do you ſee any thing amiſs in the pre-'ſent cuſtoms or proceedings of the Junto, which 'might be amended?

Any perſon to be qualified, to ſtand up, and lay his hand on his breaſt, and be aſked theſe queſtions; viz.

'1. Have you any particular diſreſpect to any 'preſent members?—*Anſwer.* I have not.

'2. Do you ſincerely declare that you love 'mankind in general; of what profeſſion or 'religion ſoever? *Anſw.* I do.

'3. Do you think any perſon ought to be 'harmed in his body, name or goods, for mere 'ſpeculative opinions, or his external way of 'worſhip?—*Anſ.* No.

'4. Do you love truth for truth's ſake, and 'will you endeavour impartially to find and re-'ceive it yourſelf and communicate it to others? '—*Anſw.* Yes.

† [Queries N° 7 and 8 follow here, in the original. E.]

State

[A. D. T.]

State of the Conſtitution of the Colonies, by Governor Pownall ‡ ;—*with Remarks by Dr.* Franklin.

[Principles.]

1. WHerever any *Engliſhmen* go forth without the realm, and make ſettlements in partibus exteris, 'Theſe ſettlements as Engliſh ſettlements, and theſe inhabitants as Engliſh ſubjects, (carrying with them the laws of the land wherever they form colonies, and receiving his Majeſty's protection by virtue of his royal charter *' or commiſſions of government,) 'have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural ſubjects, to all intents conſtructions and purpoſes whatſoever; as if they and every of them were born within the realm †;' And are bound by the like allegiance as every other ſubject of the realm.

Rem. The ſettlers of colonies in America did not carry with them the *laws of the land*, as being bound by them wherever they ſhould ſettle. They left the realm to avoid the inconveniences and hardſhips

‡ [This *State of the Conſtitution of the Colonies* was printed at the cloſe of 1769, and communicated to various perſons, with a view to prevent miſchief, from the miſunderſtandings between the government of Great Britain and the people of America. I have taken the liberty of aſcribing it to Governor Pownall, as his name could have been no ſecret at the time.—Dr. Franklin's remarks (which from their early date are the more curious) are in manuſcript; and from an obſervation in reply ſigned T. P. appear to have been communicated to Governor Pownall. —The larger type with the lower notes, mark *what belongs to Governor Pownall*; and the ſmaller type, mixed with the larger one and ſigned B. F. marks *what belongs to Dr. Franklin*. E.]

* Pratt and York. † General words in all charters.

ſhips they were under, where ſome of thoſe laws were in force: particularly eccleſiaſtical laws, thoſe for payment of tythes and others. Had it been underſtood that they were to carry theſe laws with them, they had better have ſtaid at home among their friends, unexpoſed to the riſques and toils of a new ſettlement. They carried with them, a right to *ſuch parts* of the *laws of the land*, as they ſhould judge advantageous or uſeful to them: a right to be free from thoſe they thought hurtful: and a right to make ſuch others, as they ſhould think neceſſary, not infringing the general rights of Engliſhmen; And ſuch *new* laws they were to form, as agreeable as might be to the laws of England. *B. F.*

2. Therefore the *common law of England*, and all *ſuch ſtatutes* as were enacted and in force at *the time* in which ſuch ſettlers went forth, and ſuch colonies and plantations were eſtabliſhed, (except as hereafter excepted) together with all ſuch alterations and amendments as the ſaid common law may have received; is from time to time and at all times, the law of thoſe colonies and plantations.

Rem. So far as they adopt it; by expreſs laws or by practice. *B. F.*

3. Therefore all ſtatutes touching the *right of the ſucceſſion*, and ſettlement of the crown, with the ſtatutes of treaſon relating thereto; ‡ All ſtatutes

‡ [i. e.] All ſtatutes reſpecting the general relation between the crown and the ſubject; not ſuch as reſpect any particular or peculiar eſtabliſhment of the realm of England. As for inſtance: By the 13th and 14th of Car. II. c. 2. the ſupreme military power is declared to be in general, without limitation, in his Majeſty, and to have alway been of right annexed to the office of King of England, throughout all his Majeſty's realms and dominions;—Yet the enacting clauſe, which reſpects only the peculiar eſtabliſhment of the militia of England, extends to the realm of England only: So that the ſupreme military power of the crown in all other his Majeſty's realms and dominions ſtands, *as to this ſtatute*, on the baſis of its general power, unlimited. However, the ſeveral legiſlatures of his Majeſty's kingdom

tutes *regulating* or limiting the general powers and *authority of the crown*, and the exerciſe of the juriſdiction thereof; All ſtatutes *declaratory of the rights and liberty of the ſubject*; do extend to all Britiſh ſubjects in the colonies and plantations as of common right, and as if they and every of them were born within the realm.

Rem. It is doubted whether any ſettlement of the crown by parliament, takes place in the colonies, otherwiſe than by Conſent of the Aſſemblies there. Had the rebellion in 1745 ſucceeded ſo far as to ſettle the Stuart family again on the throne, by act of parliament, I think the colonies would not have thought themſelves bound by ſuch Act. They would ſtill have adhered to the preſent family, as long as they could. *B. F.*

[Obſ. in Reply. They are bound to the King and his ſucceſſors, and we know no ſucceſſion but by act of parliament. *T. P.*]

4. All ſtatutes enacted *ſince* the eſtabliſhment of colonies and plantations, do extend to and operate within the ſaid colonies and plantations, in which ſtatutes the ſame *are ſpecially named.*

Rem. It is doubted whether any act of parliament ſhould *of right* operate in the colonies: *in fact* ſeveral of them have and do operate. *B. F.*

5. Statutes and cuſtoms which reſpect only the *ſpecial and local circumſtances* of the realm, do not extend to and operate within ſaid colonies and plantations, where no ſuch ſpecial and local circumſtances are found.—(Thus the *eccleſiaſtical and canon* law, and all *ſtatutes reſpecting tythes*;

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kingdom of Ireland, of his dominions of Virginia, and of the ſeveral colonies and plantations in America; have, by laws to which the King hath given his conſent, operating within the precincts of their ſeveral juriſdictions, limited the powers of it and regulated the exerciſe thereof.

The

The laws reſpecting *courts baron and copyholds*; The *game acts*; The ſtatutes *reſpecting the poor*, and ſettlements; and all other laws and ſtatutes having ſpecial reference to ſpecial and local circumſtances and eſtabliſhments within the realm; —do not extend to and operate within theſe ſettlements, in partibus exteris, where no ſuch circumſtances or eſtabliſhments exiſt.)

Rem. Theſe laws have no force in America: not merely becauſe local circumſtances differ; but becauſe they have never been adopted, or brought over by Acts of Aſſembly or by practice in the courts. *B. F.*

6. No ſtatutes made *ſince* the eſtabliſhment of ſaid colonies and plantations, (*except* as above deſcribed in Articles 3. and 4.) do extend to and operate within ſaid colonies and plantations.

Quere. — Would any ſtatute made ſince the eſtabliſhment of ſaid colonies and plantations, which ſtatute imported to *annul* and aboliſh the powers and juriſdictions of their reſpective conſtitutions of government, where the ſame was not contrary to the laws, or any otherwiſe forfeited or abated; or which ſtatute imported to take away, or did take away, the rights and privileges of the ſettlers, as Britiſh ſubjects: — Would ſuch ſtatute, as of right, extend to and operate within ſaid colonies and plantations?

Anſwer. No. The parliament has no ſuch power. The charters cannot be altered but by conſent of both parties, The King and the Colonies. *B. F.*

[COROLLARIES

[COROLLARIES *from the foregoing Principles.*]

Upon the matters of fact, right and law as above ſtated, it is, That the Britiſh ſubjects thus ſettled in partibus exteris without the realm, ſo long as they are excluded from an intire union with the realm as parts of and within the ſame; have a right to have (as they have) and to be governed by (as they are) a *diſtinct intire civil government*; of the like powers pre-eminences and juriſdictions (conformable to the like rights, privileges, immunities, franchiſes, and civil liberties), as are to be found and are eſtabliſhed in the Britiſh government, reſpecting the Britiſh ſubject within the realm.

Rem. Right. *B. F.*

Hence alſo it is, That the *Rights of the ſubject* as declared in the Petition of rights, That the *Limitation of the prerogative* by the Act for aboliſhing the Star-chamber and for regulating the Privy-council, &c.; That the Habeas Corpus Act, The Statute of Frauds, The Bill of Rights; do of common right extend to and are in force within ſaid colonies and plantations.

Rem. Several of theſe rights are eſtabliſhed by ſpecial colony laws. If any are not yet ſo eſtabliſhed, the colonies have right to ſuch laws: And the covenant having been made in the charters by the King, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, ſuch laws ought to receive the royal aſſent *as of right*. *B. F.*

Hence it is that the *freeholders* within the precincts of theſe juriſdictions have (as of right they ought to have) a *ſhare in the power of making thoſe laws* which they are to be governed by, by the right

right which they have of ſending their repreſentatives to act for them and to conſent for them in all matters of legiſlation; which repreſentatives when met in general aſſembly, have, together with the crown, a right to perform and do all the like acts reſpecting the matters things and rights within the precincts of their juriſdiction, as the parliament hath reſpecting the realm and Britiſh dominions.

Hence alſo it is that all the *executive offices*, (from the ſupreme civil magiſtrate as locum tenens to the King, down to that of conſtable and headborough;) muſt of right be eſtabliſhed with all and the like powers, neither more nor leſs than as defined by the conſtitution and law; as in fact they are eſtabliſhed.

Hence it is that the *judicial offices and courts of juſtice*, eſtabliſhed within the precincts of ſaid juriſdictions, have, as they ought of right to have; all thoſe juriſdictions and powers 'as fully and 'amply to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever; 'as the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, 'and Exchequer, within his Majeſty's kingdom 'of England, have, and ought to have; and are 'empowered to give judgment and award exe-'cution thereupon ‡.'

Hence it is, that by the poſſeſſion enjoyment and exerciſe of his Majeſty's *Great Seal* delivered to his Majeſty's Governor, there is eſtabliſhed within the precincts of the reſpective juriſdictions

‡ Law in New-England, confirmed by the crown, Oct. 22, 1700.

all

all the ſame and like *powers of Chancery* (except where by charters ſpecially excluded) as his Majeſty's chancellor within his Majeſty's kingdom of England hath, and of right ought to have, by delivery of the Great Seal of England. — And hence it is that all the like rights privileges and powers, follow the uſe exerciſe and application of the Great Seal of each colony and plantation within the precincts of ſaid juriſdiction; as doth, and ought of right to follow the uſe, exerciſe, and application of the Great Seal.

Hence alſo it is that *appeals in Real actions*, 'whereby the lands, tenements, and heredita-'ments of Britiſh ſubjects may be drawn into 'queſtion and diſpoſed of ‡;' do not lie, as of right and by law they ought not to lie, to the King in council.

Hence alſo it is that there is *not* any law now in being, whereby *the ſubject* within ſaid colonies and plantations can be *removed* * *from the juriſdiction to*

‡ 16th Car. I. c. 10.

* The caſe of the court erected by Act of Parliament 11 and 12th of William III. c. 7. (ſince the enacting of the *Habeas Corpus* Act) for the trial of *piracies* felonies and robberies committed in or upon the ſea, or in any haven river creek or place *where the Admiral has juriſdiction*, does no way affect this poſition: Nor doth the 14 §. of the ſaid ſtatute directing that the commiſſioners, of whom ſuch court conſiſts, may iſſue their warrant for apprehending ſuch pirates &c. in order to their being tried in the colonies, or *ſent into England*; any way militate with the doctrine here laid down: nor can it be applied as *the caſe of a juriſdiction actually exiſting*, which ſuperſedes the juriſdictions of the courts in the colonies and plantations; and as what authoriſes the taking the accuſed of ſuch piracies &c. *from thoſe juriſdictions*, and the ſending ſuch *ſo taken* to England for trial. —It

to which he is amenable in all his rights, and through which his ſervice and allegiance muſt be derived to the crown, and from which no appeal lies in criminal cauſes; ſo as that ſuch ſubject may become amenable to a juriſdiction foreign to his natural and legal reſiancy; to which he may be thereby tranſported, and under which he may be brought to trial and receive judgment, contrary to the rights and privileges of the ſubject as declared by the ſpirit and intent and eſpecially by the 16th §. of the Habeas Corpus Act.—And if the perſon of any ſubject within the ſaid colonies and plantations *ſhould* be ſeized or detained by any power iſſuing from any court, without the juriſdiction of the colony where he then had his legal reſiancy; it would become the duty of the courts of juſtice *within* ſuch colony (it is un-

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—It cannot be applied as a caſe ſimilar and in point to the application of an Act of Parliament (paſſed in the 35th of Hen. VIII. concerning the *trial of treaſons,)* lately recommended in order to the ſending perſons accuſed of committing crimes in the plantations, to England for trial: Becauſe this Act of the 11th & 12th of William, c. 7. reſpects *crimes* committed in places, "*Where the Admiral has* "*juriſdiction,*" and *Caſes* to which the juriſdiction of thoſe provincial courts *do not extend.* In the *caſe of treaſons committed within the juriſdiction of the colonies and plantations*; there are courts competent to try ſuch crimes and to give judgment thereupon, where the trials of ſuch are regulated by laws to which the King hath given his conſent: From which there lies no appeal, and wherein the King hath given power and inſtruction to his Governor as to execution or reſpite of judgment. The ſaid Act of Hen. VIII. which provides remedy for a caſe which ſuppoſes *the want* of due legal juriſdiction cannot be any way, or by any rule, applied to a caſe where there *is* due legal and competent juriſdiction.

doubtedly

doubtedly of their juriſdiction ſo to do) to iſſue the writ of *habeas corpus* ‡.

Hence alſo it is, that in like manner as 'the 'command and diſpoſition of the militia, and of all 'forces by ſea and land, and of all forts and places 'of ſtrength; is, and by the laws of *England* 'ever was, the undoubted right of his Majeſty, 'and his royal predeceſſors Kings and Queens 'of England, within all his Majeſty's realms 'and dominions †;' in like manner as the ſupreme military power and command (ſo far as the conſtitution knows of and will juſtify its eſtabliſhment) is inſeparably annexed to, and forms an eſſential part of, the office of ſupreme civil magiſtrate, the office of King: In like manner, in all *governments under the King*, where the conſtituents are Britiſh ſubjects and of full and perfect right entitled to the Britiſh laws and conſtitution, the ſupreme military command

‡ [The] referring to an old Act made for the trial of treaſons committed out of the realm, by ſuch perſons as had no legal reſiancy but within the realm, and who were of the realm; applying the purview of that ſtatute which was made to bring ſubjects of the realm who had committed treaſon out of the realm (where there was *no criminal juriſdiction to which they could be amenable*) to trial within the realm, under that criminal juriſdiction to which alone by their legal reſiancy and allegiance they were amenable; applying this to the caſe of ſubjects whoſe *legal* reſiancy is *without* the realm, and who are by that reſiancy and their allegiance amenable to a juriſdiction authorized and empowered to try and give judgment upon all capital offences whatſoever without appeal; thus applying this ſtatute ſo as to take up a proceeding, for which there is no legal proceſs either by common or ſtatute law as now eſtabliſhed, but in defiance of which there is a legal proceſs eſtabliſhed by the Habeas Corpus Act;—— Would be, to diſfranchiſe the ſubject in America of thoſe rights and liberties which by ſtatute and common law he is now intitled to.

† 13th and 14th Car. II. c. 2.

within the precincts of ſuch juriſdictions, muſt be inſeparably annexed to the office of ſupreme civil magiſtrate, (his Majeſty's Regent, Vicegerent, Lieutenant, or Locum Tenens, in what form ſoever eſtabliſhed;) ſo that the King cannot by any ‡ commiſſion of regency, by any commiſſion or charter of government, ſeparate or withdraw the ſupreme command of the military from the office of ſupreme civil magiſtrate;—either by reſerving this command in his own hands, to be exerciſed and executed independent of the civil power; or by granting a diſtinct commiſſion to any military commander in chief, ſo to be exerciſed and executed; but more eſpecially not within ſuch juriſdictions where ſuch ſupreme military power (ſo far as the conſtitution knows and will juſtify the ſame) is *already* annexed and granted to the office of ſupreme civil magiſtrate.—And hence it is that the King cannot erect or eſtabliſh any law martial or military command, by any commiſſion which may ſuperſede and not be ſubject to the ſupreme civil magiſtrate, within the

‡ If the King was to abſent himſelf for a time from the realm, and did as uſual leave a regency in his place, (his locum tenens as ſupreme civil magiſtrate:) Could he authorize and commiſſion any military commander in chief, to command the militia forts and forces, *independent of ſuch regency?* Could he do this in Ireland? Could he do this in the colonies and plantations, where the Governor is already, by commiſſion or charter or both under the Great Seal, military commander in chief; as part of (and inſeparably annexed to) the office of ſupreme civil magiſtrate, his Majeſty's locum tenens within ſaid juriſdictions? If he could; then while openly, by patent according to law, he appeared to eſtabliſh a free Britiſh conſtitution, he might by a fallacy eſtabliſh a military power and government.

reſpective

reſpective precincts of the civil juriſdictions of ſaid colonies and plantations; otherwiſe than in ſuch manner as the ſaid law martial and military commiſſions are annexed or ſubject to the ſupreme civil juriſdiction within his Majeſty's realms and dominions of Great Britain and Ireland; And hence it is that the eſtabliſhment and exerciſe of ſuch commands and commiſſions would be illegal ‡.

Rem. The King has *the command* of all military force in his dominions: But in every diſtinct ſtate of his dominions there ſhould be the conſent of the parliament or aſſembly, (the repreſentative body) to *the raiſing and keeping up* ſuch military force. — He cannot even raiſe troops and quarter them in another, without the conſent of that other. He cannot *of right* bring troops raiſed in Ireland and quarter them in Britain, but with the conſent of the parliament of Britain: Nor carry to Ireland and quarter there, ſoldiers raiſed in Britain, without the conſent of the Iriſh parliament; unleſs in time of war and caſes of extreme exigency.—In 1756 when the Speaker went up to preſent the money-bills, he ſaid among other things, that 'England was capable of fighting her own battles and defending herſelf; And although ever attached to your Majeſty's perſon, 'ever at eaſe under your juſt government; They cannot forbear 'taking notice of ſome circumſtances in the preſent ſituation of 'affairs, which nothing but the confidence in your juſtice, could 'hinder from alarming their moſt ſerious apprehenſions. Subſidies 'to foreign princes, when already burthened with a debt ſcarce to be 'borne, cannot but be ſeverely felt. *An army of* FOREIGN TROOPS, '*a thing unprecedented, unheard of, unknown,* BROUGHT INTO 'ENGLAND; cannot but alarm, &c. &c.' (See the Speech.)

N. B. Theſe FOREIGN TROOPS were part of the King's ſubjects, Hanoverians, and all in *his* ſervice; which the ſame thing as** *B. F.*

‡ [Governor P. accompanied this paper to Dr. F. with a ſort of prophetic remark. After ſtating that theſe theorems, and their application to exiſting caſes, were intended to remedy the prejudice indigeſtion indeciſion and errors then prevailing either in opinions or conduct; he adds 'The very attention to the inveſtigation may lead 'to the diſcovery of *ſome truths reſpecting the whole Britiſh Empire,* then little thought 'of and ſcarce even ſuſpected; and which perhaps it would not be *prudent* at this 'time to mark and point out.'—The miniſter however judged the *diſcuſſion* of *dubious* rights over growing ſtates, a better policy, than poſſeſſion diſcretion and ſilence: He turned civilian, and loſt an empire. E.]

[A: D.T.] *To be inſerted after* p. 232, *or* p. 302.

London, Nov. 28, 1768.

Dear SIR *,

I Received your obliging favour of the 12th inſtant. Your ſentiments of the importance of the preſent diſpute between Great Britain and the Colonies, appear to me extremely juſt. There is nothing I wiſh for more than to ſee it amicably and equitably ſettled.—But Providence will bring about its own ends by its own means; and if it intends the downfal of a nation, that nation will be ſo blinded by its pride, and other paſſions, as not to ſee its danger, or how its fall may be prevented.

Being born and bred in one of the countries, and having lived long and made many agreeable connexions of friendſhip in the other, I wiſh all proſperity to both: but I have talked, and written ſo much and ſo long on the ſubject, that my acquaintance are weary of hearing, and the public of reading any more of it; which begins to make me weary of talking and writing: eſpecially as I do not find that I have gained any point, in either country; except that of rendering myſelf ſuſpected, by my impartiality; in England, of be-

* [I cannot pretend to ſay what is the publication promiſed in this letter; unleſs probably it alludes to the one given above at p. 232; in which caſe there is a miſtake in the date of the *year*.——When this work is tranſlated or reprinted, this letter muſt either precede the piece in queſtion, or follow the Examination before the Houſe of Commons, at p. 302. E.]

ing

ing too much an American, and in America of being too much an Engliſhman. Your opinion however weighs with me, and encourages me to try one effort more, in a full, though conciſe ſtate of facts, accompanied with arguments drawn from thoſe facts; to be publiſhed about the meeting of parliament, after the holidays.

If any good may be done I ſhall rejoice; but at preſent I almoſt deſpair.

Have you ever ſeen the barometer ſo low as of late? The 22d inſtant mine was at 28, 41, and yet the weather fine and fair.

With ſincere eſteem, I am, Dear Friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

[A: D. T.] *To come in after* p. 356.

Philadelphia, May 16, 1775.

Dear Friend *,

YOU will have heard before this reaches you, of a march ſtolen by the regulars into the country by night, and of their *expedition* back again. They retreated 20 miles in [6] hours.

The Governor had called the Aſſembly to propoſe Lord North's pacific plan; but before the time of their meeting, began cutting of throats; —You know it was ſaid he carried the ſword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other; and it ſeems he choſe to give them a taſte of the ſword firſt.

He is doubling his fortifications at Boſton, and hopes to ſecure his troops till ſuccour arrives. The place indeed is naturally ſo defenſible, that I think them in no danger.

All America is exaſperated by his conduct, and more firmly united than ever. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable.

I had a paſſage of ſix weeks; the weather conſtantly ſo moderate that a London wherry might

* [I run much riſque in the publication of the three following letters; but I think they contain ſuch valuable facts, and ſhew ſo well the nature of Dr. Franklin's temper, that I ought to encounter ſome difficulty rather than ſuffer them to be loſt. E.]

have

have accompanied us all the way. I got home in the evening, and the next morning was unanimouſly choſen by the Aſſembly a delegate to the Congreſs, now ſitting.

In coming over I made a valuable philoſophical diſcovery, which I ſhall communicate to you, when I can get a little time. At preſent am extremely hurried. * * * *

Yours moſt affectionately,

B. F.

[A. D. T.] *To come in after* p. 364.

Philadelphia, 7th *July*, 1775.

Dear Friend ‡,

* * * * *

The Congreſs met at a time when all minds were ſo exaſperated by the perfidy of General Gage, and his attack on the country people, that propoſitions of attempting an accommodation were not much reliſhed; and it has been with difficulty that we have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more of recovering the friendſhip of the colonies; which however I think ſhe has not ſenſe enough to embrace, and ſo I conclude ſhe has loſt them for ever.

She has begun to burn our ſeaport towns; ſecure, I ſuppoſe, that we ſhall never be able to return the outrage in kind. She may doubtleſs deſtroy them all; but if ſhe wiſhes to recover our commerce, are theſe the probable means? She muſt certainly be diſtracted; for no tradeſman out of Bedlam ever thought of encreaſing the number of his cuſtomers by knocking them [on] the head; or of enabling them to pay their debts by burning their houſes.

If ſhe wiſhes to have us ſubjects and that we ſhould ſubmit to her as our compound ſovereign,

‡ [See the note to the foregoing letter. E.]

ſhe

ſhe is now giving us ſuch miſerable ſpecimens of her government, that we ſhall ever deteſt and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire and peſtilence.

You will have heard before this reaches you, of the treacherous conduct * * * to the remaining people in Boſton, in detaining their *goods*, after ſtipulating to let them go out with their *effects*; on pretence that merchants goods were not effects;—the defeat of a great body of his troops by the country people at Lexington; ſome other ſmall advantages gained in ſkirmiſhes with their troops; and the action at Bunker's-hill, in which they were twice repulſed, and the third time gained a dear victory. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your miniſters that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined.

We have not yet applied to any foreign power for aſſiſtance; nor offered our commerce for their friendſhip. Perhaps we never may: Yet it is natural to think of it if we are preſſed.

We have now an army on our eſtabliſhment which ſtill holds yours beſieged.

My time was never more fully employed. In the morning at 6, I am at the committee of ſafety, appointed by the aſſembly to put the province in a ſtate of defence; which committee holds till near 9, when I am at the congreſs, and that ſits till after 4 in the afternoon. Both theſe bodies proceed with the greateſt unanimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will ſcarce

ſcarce be credited in Britain that men can be as diligent with us from zeal for the public good, as with you for thouſands per annum.—Such is the difference between uncorrupted new ſtates, and corrupted old ones.

Great frugality and great induſtry are now become faſhionable here: Gentlemen who uſed to entertain with two or three courſes, pride themſelves now in treating with ſimple beef and pudding. By theſe means, and the ſtoppage of our conſumptive trade with Britain, we ſhall be better able to pay our voluntary taxes for the ſupport of our troops. Our ſavings in the article of trade amount to near five million ſterling per annum.

I ſhall communicate your letter to Mr. Winthrop, but the camp is at Cambridge, and he has as little leiſure for philoſophy as myſelf. * * * Believe me ever, with ſincere eſteem, my dear friend,

Yours moſt affectionately ‡.

‡ [The two preceding letters are to the ſame perſon; the following one is to a different correſpondent. E.]

[A: D.T.]

To come in after p. 366.

Philadelphia, Oct. 3, 1775 ‡.

I Wiſh as ardently as you can do for peace, and ſhould rejoice exceedingly in co-operating with you to that end. But every ſhip from Britain brings ſome intelligence of new meaſures that tend more and more to exaſperate; and it ſeems to me that until you have found by dear experience the reducing us by force impracticable, you will think of nothing fair and reaſonable.—We have as yet reſolved only on defenſive meaſures. If you would recall your forces and ſtay at home, we ſhould meditate nothing to injure you. A little time ſo given for cooling on both ſides would have excellent effects. But you will goad and provoke us. You deſpiſe us too much; and you are inſenſible of the Italian adage, that *there is no little enemy*.—I am perſuaded the body of the Britiſh people are our friends; but they are changeable, and by your lying Gazettes may ſoon be made our enemies. Our reſpect for them will proportionally diminiſh; and I ſee clearly we are on the high road to mutual enmity, hatred, and deteſtation. A ſeparation will of courſe be inevitable.—'Tis a million of pities ſo fair a plan

‡ [See the note to p. 550. E.]

as

as we have hitherto been engaged in for increaſing ſtrength and empire with *public felicity*, ſhould be deſtroyed by the mangling hands of a few blundering miniſters. It will not be deſtroyed: God will protect and proſper it: You will only exclude yourſelves from any ſhare in it.—We hear that more ſhips and troops are coming out. We know you may do us a great deal of miſchief, but we are determined to bear it patiently as long as we can; but if you flatter yourſelves with beating us into ſubmiſſion, you know neither the people nor the *country*.

The congreſs is ſtill ſitting, and will wait the reſult of their *laſt* petition.

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N.B. The following liſt of addenda, &c. may appear conſiderable: The aſteriſms on the ſide however (about *ſixteen* in number) mark all that are important for the reader's attention: The reſt are chiefly inſerted for the benefit of the printer, in future editions. Had the copies of the author's pieces which the editor poſſeſſed, always been correct, fewer difficulties of this kind would probably have occurred: And the notes alſo might have been much abridged and perfected, had the progreſs of the preſs allowed a ſufficient time.

For a ſmall alteration to be made in the *Arrangement of the pieces* in this Collection, ſee the Table of Contents and its Note, and alſo the notes of the Appendix.

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3. a ſpace to be put after § 7; — ſo alſo after § 12 in p. 5; — after § 14 in p. 7; — after § 18 in p. 8; — and after § 20 & § 21, in p. 9.
3. line 18. read "*there* that there is;" for "there that *there* is."
7. line 18. dele *the* before *Fathers*.
13. a ſpace to be put after l. 5; — p. 17. a paragraph and ſpace at the words "Thus manners," line 17; — p. 20. a ſpace at line 20; — and p. 22 ſpaces at lines 14 & 28.
* 49. l. 21. after "individual," add, "and neceſſary to furniſh "his ſubſiſtence."
51. line 23. read "becomes."
57. line 17 of the notes; read "much *abuſe* in."
59. line 8 from the bottom; read "keeps."
67. line 2. read "*Con*ſtitution."

*72. The

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* 72. The copy of the Chapter againſt perſecution is in ſeveral reſpects imperfect. In particular the diviſion of verſes is not obſerved, and the following part omitted, beginning from the 12th verſe.

'(12) And Abraham ſaid, let not the anger of my Lord wax hot againſt 'his ſervant: lo, I have ſinned, forgive me I pray thee. (13) And Abra-'ham aroſe, and went forth into the wilderneſs and diligently ſought for 'the man and found him; and returned with him to the tent; and when 'he had entreated him kindly, he ſent him away on the morrow with gifts. '(14) And God ſpake again unto Abraham ſaying, for this thy ſin ſhall 'thy ſeed be afflicted four hundred years in a ſtrange land: (15) But for 'thy repentance will I deliver them, and they ſhall come forth with power, 'and with gladneſs of heart, and with much ſubſtance.'

74. line 10; read "*that* people."

76. line 13; read "ſect."

98. line 14; for "the nearer," read "near;" and line 15, read "colonies *and* where."

121. line 13 from the bottom of the note; read "may *have* contribute*d*;" and line 6 from the bottom, read "in *the* diſturbances."

129, &c. in the running title, read "Letter."

*131. line 10 from the bottom, read "in *the* parliament;" and line 6 from the bottom, read "ſea*s* around *its* coaſts."

139. line 10. dele "and much."

141. line 15. read "Hock*hock*kin;" and line 4 from the bottom, read "Mohi*n*gahela."

*142. line 7. after "*fort*" add, "and ſupply it with proviſions."

174. line 5. for "with" read "within."

*205. at the bottom, add this *note*. [Dr. Franklin has often been heard to ſay, that in writing this pamphlet, he received conſiderable aſſiſtance from a learned friend who was not willing to be named. E.]

*221. Inſert the following note. [I underſtand that Dr. Franklin is the friend who aſſiſted Governor Pownall in drawing up a plan for a general paper-currency for America, to be eſtabliſhed by the Britiſh government. See Gov. Pownall's Adminiſtration of the Colonies, 5th edit. p. 199 & 208, &c. E.]

*227. In the note; omit all of the laſt ſix lines between the word "times," and the word "But;" and in page 228, line 5, for "(Dr. Franklin)" read "(George Croghan.)"

236. line 8. dele "it had been ſaid."

240. line 7. from bottom, read ſimply "and beaver;" line 3 from bottom, read "King;" and line 2d from bottom, dele "*with*."

243. line

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243. line 13, read "*in*tend;" and line 3 from the bottom, for "ſignify" read "ſatisfy."

255. line 7 of the notes, read "*exem*pted."

287. line 19. read "eſteem*ed*."

313. line 12. read "ſtead; *the* power," and line 21 put a comma only after "here."

316. line 7. read "ſubject*s*."

*323. at the bottom, dele "Theſe poſts have ſince gone together."

325. line 18. read "*this* diſpoſition;" and line 19. read "*was* ſo prevalent."

326. line 3. read ſimply "that miniſter;" line 20. read "to *ſtarve* it;" and line 4 from the bottom read "fifteen *hundred*."

329. In the title here and in the ſubſequent pages, dele "and Examination."

344. line 14. read "ſettlers or their."

351. line 11 from the bottom, read "*That* thus."

*355. dele the loweſt note with its reference, and line 11 read "enow under."

*357. in the title of this and the ſubſequent pages ſay "*Propoſed* Vindication."

368. line 8 from the bottom, read "*had* 500 *l.*"

372. line 18. read "not *to* be;" and line 22. read "*porcelaine* vaſe."

374. line 6 from the bottom, read ſimply "ſtood a."

376. line 9 from the bottom, dele "his;" and line 7 from bottom, read "individual, ought."

377. line 18. read "man *there* is;" line 25. read "miſmanagemt;" and line 26. read "buſineſs, and."

387. l. 10 of the note, read "where the fundamentals of the government are."

427. line 2. read "charter; to."

429. line 10. read "knew."

444. line 8 from bottom, read "country."

*452. line 1. read "but *their* wiſdoms;" and line 21. between "authority." and "What," inſert a number of aſteriſms, to mark the omiſſion of a long ſatyrical *epitaph* for the Proprietors, compoſed out of addreſſes or meſſages to them printed in the votes; and page 464. dele what follows the word "omitted" in the note.

459. line 1. read "ever been."

*468. on

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*468. on the ſide of the upper diviſion, put "to" in roman, "huh" in italic, and dele "*y*;" and on the ſide of the fifth diviſion dele the roman "th" and "dh."—Alſo make the table face p. 468. and not p. 470, and in the 4th column of the table oppoſite *a* read "little *more*, or"; and in the note at the bottom, for "ſounds" read "characters."--Alſo p. 469. l. 2. after "ſoft." inſert as follows, "*K* alſo 'ſupplies well the place of *z*; and, 'with an *s* added, the place of *x*: '*q* and *x* are therefore omitted. 'The vowel *u* being ſounded as *oo*, 'makes the *w* unneceſſary. The '*y* where uſed ſimply, is ſupplied 'by *i*; and where as a diphthong, 'is ſupplied by two vowels: That 'letter is therefore omitted as uſe-'leſs.'—Alſo p. 470. l. 6. read "*u*nto;" and line 7 from the bottom, read "different *poſition.*" and line

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line 4 from the bottom, dele "both in inhaling and expelling it."--Alſo p. 471. l. 5. read *fiuriys*.—Alſo p. 472. l. 6. read "fiks'd ;" --- Alſo p. 475. l. 2. and p. 477. lines 9 and 15. read "*layuedſi*."

477. dele the note.

*479. after the title inſert "Philadelphia, 1748 ;" and in the next line ſay "to Mr. *Hopkinſon* ;" and inſert "Hopkinſon" for "Baxter" in the title of the ſubſequent pages, and in the 2d line of the note read "&c. *by Mr. Baxter*."

486. In lieu of the preſent note, place the following, viz. "Philadelphia market, in which Dr. F. lived."

507. line 13. read "force*," and add the following note below.

510. line 11. read "fundamentals of *the* cauſe."

511. in the *two* laſt notes at the bottom, read "torrid zone" for "tropics."

512. line 2. read "France" ;—l. 6. dele the figure § 5°. and inſert the whole ſentence, "How ſlowly *ſituation* operates here, &c." as a note to the word *Newfoundland* ;—Let the ſentence at l. 12, beginning with the words "The ſame concluſion," follow the word Newfoundland, line 6, and make part of § 4 ;—and for § 5°. inſert the following ſentence, with its attendant note. "5°. The air loſes heat ſlowly † ; or in "other words is a bad conductor of heat."—Line 13 of the ſame page, read "at leaſt at twenty eight degrees and "a half" for "at 28½° ;"—and line 28, read "*near* the "pole."

*515. line 14 and 15, for "whatever rarity the air has at a certain "height," &c. read "if the air be found to increaſe in "rarity a given number of times at a ſpecific height from "the ſurface, at twice that height the rarity will be as "the *ſquare* of that number, at thrice that height as the "*cube* of it ; and ſo on : The" height, &c.

*517. for the bottom line, and p. 518 for the top line ; ſubſtitute as follows.—"appear moſt when the beginning of moiſture

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* [What is here ſaid of the effect of the centrifugal force on the air, the author I find, has ſince conſidered as a miſtake. E.]

† "See Mr. Adair Crawford's moſt excellent book on *Animal heat*," p. 35.

"ſucceeds

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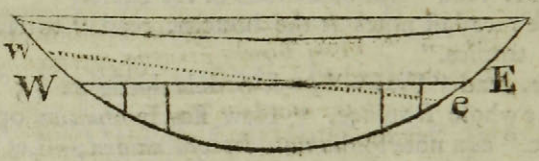
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" ſucceeds the maximum of cold, or the beginning of
" cold ſucceeds the maximum of moiſture; but if it be
" true, according to Muſſchenbroek, that they prevail moſt
" when, &c."—line 3 of the ſame p. 518. dele " hence."

524. line 31. at the word " regions ‡" conſider the following note.

524—6. for

‡ [I find from a paper by Capt. Douglas (ſee the Phil. Tranſ. for 1770.) that the *ſea at ſome depths* in certain cold latitudes, is not only warmer than at the ſurface in *ſpring* time, but alſo in ſeveral trials was of equal warmth with it upon an average late in *ſummer*. Now I cannot ſuſpect from the very ſmall depths to which (according to divers, &c.) the agitation of ſtorms is found to reach, that deep warm ſtrata of water are brought by *ſtorms* into theſe climates: Nor can I attribute the fact ſimply to *tides*, ſince tides according to Dr. Franklin are waves, and waves are produced chiefly out of the waters on the ſpot, by an altered poſition of their parts: Nor do I think we can explain much by calling in the aid of *currents*, for whence are thoſe currents?—I incline therefore to conceive ſome ſuch cauſe as the following. If the globe were now for the firſt time made to whirl round its axis, the earthy parts of it would eaſily comply with the motion; but the *watry* parts being of a looſer texture would be later in doing this and hence probably for a time make an overwhelming current to the weſtward. Thus, if a baſon with water be moved in the



direction W E; the water being *left behind* at E, the parts there will become dry; and the water again being *overtaken* at W and not having conſiſtency enough to admit a ſufficient protruſion, the firſt diviſion near W will have its parts ſqueezed under between and above, thoſe of the next diviſion; ſo as to raiſe that diviſion; but within ſuch bounds as gravity, compared with the force of the motion, ſhall preſcribe; the ſame gravity rendering the ſurface of the whole ſmooth, in ſome ſuch line as *w e*. The *tropical* waters having to keep pace with a more rapid projection of land however than the reſt, would be later in acquiring their requiſite motion, and continue longer ſwelling up againſt the weſtern ſhores, and from thence run north and ſouth round again to the eaſtern ſhores; having in their aſcent to the higher latitudes a motion relatively quick, and in their deſcent back again another relatively ſlow; and by ſuch motions laying a foundation for producing another ſwell with circuitous currents after the manner of the former.—I leave it to others to ſay how ſuch a notion, if juſt, might explain the depoſits of ſhells in different inland parts where the water firſt became quieteſt, &c. &c. but it ſeems to me difficult, without ſome ſuch hypotheſis, to determine the cauſe of the fact in queſtion. It ſeems difficult alſo to ſay, why (apparently excluſive of winds, which yet according to Dr. F. obey a like influence) our *weſtward* voyages are beſt made in *low* latitudes, and our *eaſtward* voyages beſt made in higher ones. It ſeems farther difficult without it, to ſay, why the waters are accumulated as we ſee them in the *Bay of Mexico*, to the height (if we are to judge by the rate and extent of their deſcent thence) of ſome hundred feet (as perhaps may be proved by a compariſon of them with the Pacific waters acroſs the Mexican Iſthmus?) an effect which, (in contradiction to the notes above p. 524, to Peyſſonel, and perhaps to a ſtill greater authority) I think is hardly to be attributed to the power of the *trade-winds*; becauſe the whole atmoſpherical weight,

is

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524-6. for the running title ſay, " The earth kept *thawed* only " by the *ſun*."

526. line 9. read " at the ſame *degree of* heat."

527. line 16. at the words " long ſubſiſted," inſert the note below.* — line 26. put a daſh after " hiſtory." — line 27. put the word " *foreſts*" into italics; — and line 30, read " overlooked."

*528. line 13 from the bottom, dele " (at leaſt in certain ſtages)."

*529. line 26. Inſert the note below †.

N. B.

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is only equal to 33 feet of water, and a wind-wave upon flat waters ſcarce ever reaches 15 feet above the general *level* without gravity bringing it down again, and no unuſual continuance of winds upon any ſhore in fact ever raiſes a water ſwell of 33 feet independent of earthquakes and tides. Perhaps alſo an hypotheſis of this kind may gain farther credit, from the *currents* obſerved among the Weſt India iſlands; where the water may be ſuppoſed running backwards or forwards from the Mexican heap, according as the ſupply is more or leſs ſlackened behind or the diſcharge more or leſs accelerated before, by ſtorms tides, &c. &c. So perhaps the current into the Mediterranean by Gibraltar with ſome of the currents in other ſtraights and ſeas (allowing for the poſition ſize, &c. of the water, and ſuppoſing a current below to balance a current above,) as alſo various riplings of ſeas, &c. may have their ſhare in explaining and being explained by ſuch a conjecture. E.]

* [This aſſertion may be thought carried too far; ſeeing the great effects produced during different ſeaſons upon the earth's ſurface, as to heat and cold. And perhaps the eaſe with which the earth appears diſpoſed to relapſe into coolneſs and froſt were the ſun wholly to retire; may lead ſome to ſuſpect, that the ſun's preſence only occaſions a manifeſtation of heat by ſome *decompoſition* of it from certain ſubſtances, and that during the ſun's abſence this heat after a time tends again to be *abſorbed*. Such ſuppoſition, if true, would help to explain ſeveral facts and difficulties in theſe inquiries: Room therefore is left for it, along with other like ſuppoſitions. E.]

† [The following incidents are too curious to be omitted.—Smoke from Cotopaxi is ſeen between five and ſix miles above the ſea; and Veſuvius is ſaid on the night of Auguſt 8, 1779, to have thrown out a compleat ſheet of fire in a column, at leaſt three times taller than the mountain itſelf, or near three miles above the ſea; which operation continued in full force for 25 minutes (then ceaſing abruptly); and from thoſe clouds the *brighteſt forked lightning* conſtantly iſſued; the *reſt of the ſky* being free from clouds, and before the eruption, it having been a clear ſtar-light night. Qu. Does the *projected ſmoke* (compoſed in part perhaps of moiſt or mineral particles) ſpread, cool, and condenſe; and while condenſing create the ſame overflow of electricity that Dr. Franklin conceives to be created by *condenſing vapor*; afterwards diſcharging its ſurplus of electricity into the earth, moiſt air, or heated lava that is paſſing up and down on all ſides: And may not this ſame ſmoke, when in a drier, cooler, and lower atmoſphere towards the poles, make its diſcharge into the vacuum above; thus forming a ſeparate origin for the auroras?—If an *inſulated* volcano be ſtill thought neceſſary to the auroras, and *ſuch* volcano be ſuppoſed incapable of furniſhing the additional electricity required upon the change of ſolid matter into voluminous ſmoke; may not this additional electricity be acquired from moiſt *ſoutherly* air, during the firſt ſtages of the ſmoke's aſcending? And may not ſmoke and vapor thus often *reciprocally* promote the auroras; the *vapor* of itſelf at times

not

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N. B. In the running titles of the right hand pages, from page 513 to p. 529, inſert [M. P.]

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not aſcending high enough to reach the rarer air; and the *ſmoke* of itſelf not poſſeſſing all the neceſſary electricity, till aided by ſoutherly winds; auroras therefore that depend on *ſmoke from inſulated volcanos*, never appearing without the appearance of humid air.——Mr. Brydone however I find was told of red or blueiſh lightning flaſhing from the eruptions of Ætna, as well as of Veſuvius; but without any noiſe heard like thunder, except when clouds paſſed near; and alſo that the whole track of ſmoke (ſometimes 100 miles in extent) produced great miſchief by its electrical diſcharges, when the air was *dry* and little agitated; But that at other times the electricity deſcended with torrents of rain. He himſelf only found the air of Ætna electrical, in a ſituation where there was hardly any thing but lava and dry hot ſand near: And its ſmoke, when he ſaw it, always deſcended to certain regions of the atmoſphere. If there are any auroras then produced by mere electrified ſmoke, may not ſoutherly winds contribute to the eruption by pouring ſnow or water into the volcano; may not the eruption by rendering the air lighter in conſequence of rarefaction, phlogiſtication, &c. or the *cold high land in its neighbourhood* by making the vaporous air ſhrink greatly in conſequence of precipitating its vapor (as is ſeen in certain elevations upon Ætna and ſtill more upon the Andes) *contribute to the wind.*—Finally, if the inſulated ſmoke be negative with reſpect to electricity, is there any contradiction in ſuppoſing that it may occaſionally receive its complement from the upper regions; the electricity in its circuitous paſſage thither for the purpoſe, forming a new ſpecies of auroras.—See the plate from Bouguer; the London Gazette for Sept. 4, 1779; and Brydone's Tour through Sicily and Malta, Vol. I. p. 215, and 227-8; With the confirmation given by Sir Wm. Hamilton in the Phil. Tranſ. for 1768, p. 11, and 1770, p. 18. and Ulloa, Vol. I. p. 231. E.]

N. B. The collection in this Volume includes all the *Political* Pieces by Dr. Franklin which have by any means come into the Editor's poſſeſſion, and ſuch of his *Miſcellaneous* and *Philoſophical* pieces as are not *elſewhere* extant in print.

FINIS.

